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ABSTRACT

This book reviews both preservice and inservice teacher education in the Republic of China and provides detailed analyses. In the first chapter, an overview of the educational system's structure in modern Taiwan and the United States is presented and comparisons drawn. Features of Chinese educational and intellectual thought and philosophy are considered in the second chapter. A brief historical profile is drawn of the foundations of Chinese philosophy of education, based to a great degree on the teachings of Confucius. The following two chapters describe the structure, curriculum, and administrative organization of preservice education for elementary and secondary school teachers. Tables provide detailed information on the courses offered in the 5-year normal schools and when particular classes are taken by students. In the fifth chapter, inservice teacher education is discussed. Descriptions are given of inservice opportunities (some leading to a masters degree), and of the "In-Service Teachers Institute Program" which has its main center in Taipei. In the final chapter, issues facing Taiwan educators in planning for the future are discussed. (JD)

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In the Image of Confucius:
The Education and Preparation of Teachers in Taiwan

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With a foreword by
Dr. Jeanne Tchong-Koei Li, President
Pacific Cultural Foundation
Taipei, Taiwan

A Pacific Cultural Foundation Publication

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DEDICATION

To the 10th Year Anniversary

of the

PACIFIC CULTURAL FOUNDATION

1974 - 1984

THIS PROJECT OWES ITS EXISTENCE
TO
GENEROUS RESEARCH AND SUPPORT GRANTS
AND SUBSIDIES
FROM
THE PACIFIC CULTURAL FOUNDATION
Taipei, Taiwan

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By Dr. Jeanne Tchong-Koei Li, President, Pacific Cultural Foundation
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FOREWORD

Dr. Douglas C. Smith, Coordinator and Professor at the West Virginia University Graduate Center at Shepherd College and one of the Fellows of the Pacific Cultural Foundation in Taipei, received a grant from our Foundation for the publication of his latest book, *In the Image of Confucius*. In this book, Dr. Smith reviews the teacher education and pre-service education in the Republic of China and makes detailed analyses of the system. We are pleased and grateful that the author dedicates the study to the 10th year anniversary of the Pacific Cultural Foundation in 1984.

Dr. Smith is a scholar and educator with great interest in Chinese culture and the educational system in Taiwan. In 1978 and 1981, he published two books, *Higher Education in Taiwan: The Confucius-Dewey Synthesis* and *An Island of Learning*. We have supported his efforts in the hope of promoting international understanding and academic cooperation, one of the major aims of our foundation.

Jeanne Tchong-Koei Li
President
Pacific Cultural Foundation

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I have been blessed with friends, colleagues, associates, and organizations who have helped me enormously with the research, writing, preparation, and funding of this book.

It is my privilege to thank some of them here for their efforts. Though they have assisted me in more ways than I could ever truly acknowledge, I do, of course, exonerate them from all errors that still remain. Their names follow: John Andes, Professor and Associate Dean of Education at West Virginia University; William D. Barns, Senior Professor of History, WVU; Bruce Flack, Vice-President and Dean, Glenville State College; Edsel Gainer, Director of Off-Campus Graduate Programs at WVU; Nan Doss; Paul James; Grace Henderson; and Jeanne Tchong-Koei Li, President, Pacific Cultural Foundation.

As she has done for my previous articles and books, Jewel Lambeth Vaughan aided in preparation and typing the successive drafts of the manuscript. Her assistance and efficiency over the years have improved my work by an amount I would be hesitant to try to measure.

I would also wish to thank my wife for her tolerance during this and other academic ventures I have pursued.

The last person to whom I would like to express my gratitude is Mr. Gary James and his fine company who saw fit to take a gamble with this book.

Funding for the field-based research and total publication of this work was made available to me by the PACIFIC CULTURAL FOUNDATION to whom I have dedicated the book. The West Virginia University Foundation and the West Virginia University Presidential Grants Committee also assisted in the support of this effort, as did the College of Extension

and Continuing Education at WVU which afforded me professional academic leave time.

"History is not kind to idlers."

— National U.S. Commission on
Excellence in Education Report,
A Nation at Risk.

PREFACE

The process of education is necessarily an aspect of the larger social process of communication and understanding among humankind. Those of us who are representatives of the scholarly community and who take the time to look at current happenings in American education have abundant reason for discouragement. We have only to lift our eyes to see going on in this nation a dysfunctional educational process that is placing the vital interest of America in jeopardy.

I began writing this book shortly after returning from my third research sojourn in the Orient. That was in December of 1982. In the spring of 1983 Senator Robert C. Byrd (D., W.Va.), leader of the Democratic party, sent for my review the just-published report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*. It was fortuitous that my exiguous contribution to the literature of education and this most important and lucid study should dovetail. The *Report*, as all American educators now know, suggests that America is falling far behind other less prosperous but seemingly more determined nations in preparing teachers and youngsters for their place in society. The Commission rings a note of alarm when it states:

> If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war. As it stands, we have allowed this to happen to ourselves. We have even squandered the gains in student achievement made in the wake of the Sputnik challenge. Moreover we have dismantled essential [teacher education] support systems which helped make those gains possible. We have, in effect, been

committing an act of unthinkable, unilateral educational disarmament.

— *A Nation at Risk*, p. 1

A Nation at Risk addressed as part of its charge the preparation and education of American teachers. Its conclusions were not optimistic. Teachers in the United States are poorly prepared in subject matter; are drawn from the lower part of both the high school and college graduating classes; tend to take soft "educational methods" courses in lieu of the more rigorous subjects; are paid far too little for the duties they perform; though there are too many teachers in most areas, critical subjects are often taught by individuals teaching out of their subject field; and, lastly, the *Report* suggests that in the most critical fields of learning for America's future — the mathematical sciences, computerization, foreign language, and the physical and biological sciences — a dire shortage of qualified, certified, trained elementary and secondary teachers exists.

This book will focus on how another society is attempting to deal with many of the items addressed in the 1983 National U.S. Commission on Excellence in Education report, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*. I am hopeful that we as educators, parents, and concerned citizens will be willing to see societies such as Taiwan, Japan, Singapore, Israel, Germany, Sweden, France, and others not as potential adversaries or ruthless competitors for the world's finite wealth but as laboratories where experiments in educational excellence are taking place and as societies from which America can learn how better to educate our younger and older studentry.

Douglas C. Smith
West Virginia University
Shepherdstown, West Virginia
Autumn, 1983

APPERCEPTIONS

> Comparative studies are intended to describe and analyze similarities and differences in order to understand the other culture's institutions and people and to understand one's own society and oneself.
>
> J.R. Kidd in *Comparing Adult Education Worldwide*

The ultimate purpose of this book is to enhance further understanding between two diverse cultures and societies, Taiwan and America. The vehicle for this goal is a compendious essay on Chinese education in Taiwan, specifically factors directly and indirectly related to the preparation and education of school teachers.

The entire subject of comparative educational research is in its infancy. The specific field of assessment and description of another society's teacher education system is virtually nonexistent in the literature of cross-cultural academeology.*

In preparing the following chapters of this book a conscious effort was made to describe the pre-service education of teachers in Taiwan and to narrate other aspects of Chinese society that have contributed to the uniqueness of this educative process; an equally powerful concern was to do this

---

**ACADEMEOLOGY* (ak-a-dem-ol-o-je) - the systematic study of a place where instruction, learning and/or research take place. An inquiry into the environment, personnel, structure, financing and vitality of a school, university, research center or other location in which teaching and learning are perfomed as the main mission. One who is involved with this study and research may be referred to as an *academeologist*.

The word academeology comes from two other words: (1) *academe* which is of Greek and Latin origin and means any place of instruction, *e.g.*, a school, and (2) ology, a branch of knowledge such as psych-ology.

without drawing critical comparisons with other nations' education paragons. Each civilization has developed in its own unique way; and for an American to visit another society and pass judgment on that society's social, political, economic, or education system — without a detailed and thorough understanding of the historical evolution of the civilization — would be inexplicable and border on academic sophistry. Consequently this book is devoted to being a narration and a descriptive essay of the teacher education of Taiwan. Written projects like this one can take many forms. Perhaps the three currently most prevalent are (1) the research format, (2) the evaluation study, and (3) the essay.

Research as used in this context is "careful, critical, disciplined inquiry, varying in technique and method according to the nature and conditions of the problem identified, directed toward the clarification or resolution (or both) of a problem."

Evaluation refers to "judgments of merit, sometimes based solely on measurements such as those provided by test scores, but more frequently involving the synthesis of various measurements, critical incidents, subjective impressions, and other kinds of evidence weighed in the process of carefully appraising the effects of an educational experience" (*Dictionary of Education*, 1973, pp. 494, 220).

An *essay*, according to *Webster's*, is "an analytic or interpretive written literary work dealing with a subject from a limited or personal point of view; an effort to examine or assay various components or characteristics of that which is under study; an initial tentative effort."

Though this book is a composite of the three scholarly vehicles cited above, the greatest emphasis in its preparation has been in the area that falls under the definition of an essay. Because of this, certain liberties have been taken with style, methodology, and format. These should not negate the validity of the materials under discussion; they will add to the felicity of this essay in such a way that both academicians and other interested readers will be able to find meaning in what they read.

J.R. Kidd indicates that there are certain goals that must be kept in the forefront when one is involved with trans-societal comparative education studies. Though Kidd uses these

propositions in relation to comparative adult education, they are equally applicable to the study of another society's teacher education programs. These goals are stated as follows:

To enhance further understanding and communication between two societies;

- to become better informed about the educational system for pedagogues of other countries;
- to become better informed about the ways in which people in other cultures have carried out certain social functions by means of education;
- to become better informed about the historical roots of certain activities and thus to develop criteria for assessing contemporary developments and testing possible outcomes;
- to understand better the educational forms and systems operating in one's own country;
- to satisfy an interest in how other human beings live and learn;
- to understand oneself better;
- to reveal how one's own cultural biases and personal attributes affect one's judgment about possible ways of carrying on learning transactions.

(• Kidd, 1981, p. 220).

The above focuses were made the *raison d'etre* of the chapters that follow. Research for this book consisted of a number of modalities, the most intrinsic of which were the following:

A. Field-based, on-site observation at teachers colleges, universities, public and private elementary schools, and various education administrative offices and centers.

B. In-depth interviews with the following: (1) Educators in Taiwan's public and private elementary and secondary schools; (2) persons in leadership positions at the Ministry of Education; (3) administrators at the Provincial Department of Education of Taiwan; (4) the president and/or staff at the three teachers colleges/universities; (5) selected faculty and administrators from the nine junior normal colleges; (6) representatives of other schools involved with the education of

public school teachers; (7) professors, staff members, teachers, and students in normal colleges, teachers colleges and universities; and (8) professors, scholars, and intellectuals from other areas of Taiwan's academic life. A complete list of these men and women appears in the bibliographical section of the book.

C. Primary and secondary printed source materials — both in Chinese and English — also were used extensively in the preparation of this study. The Ministry of Education, the Provincial Department of Education of Taiwan, and National Taiwan Normal University, as well as other colleges and junior normal schools, provided this writer with a large amount of data, all of which contributed to the data base that forms this work. Primary and secondary sources, *e.g.*, published books, dissertations, pamphlets, periodicals, and miscellaneous materials, appear in the bibliographical sections and are also alluded to in the text.

The scope of this study is primarily how the teacher of Taiwan is educated to fulfill his or her mission of educating younger students. Each chapter that follows moves from the general to the specific. The readers are introduced first to the cultural, social, and institutional attributes of China and Taiwan. They are then brought to the specifics of the educative process. Hence, this work contains both general materials and highly specialized areas of inquiry.

Taiwan,* a society that this writer has visited on numerous occasions as a researcher and lecturer, presents many contrasts to America.

Located less than 100 miles off the coast of mainland Asia, Taiwan has been and remains a province of China. In all ways Taiwan, which over the centuries has been influenced by America, Europe, and Japan, remains Chinese. Traditions, language, cultural activities, educational philosophy, and history are all of Chinese provenance. The island is the smallest province of China and was until recently one of the poorest. It is shaped like a giant tobacco leaf with a mountain range running down the center, rivers reaching outward, and beau-

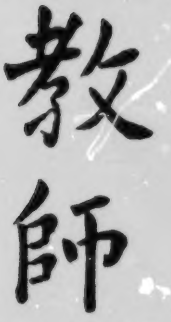
*The terms Taiwan, Formosa, the Republic of China, and island China are used interchangeably throughout this study.

tiful beaches and flat lands near the coast. The population is about 18 million and of this population nearly 30 percent are involved in the education process. Taiwan has, next to the United States, the largest per capita school attendance on earth, with 99.8 percent of its young people, ages 5-16, involved with compulsory education, grades 1-9.

Perhaps the most notable facet of today's Taiwan is its current high standard of living. In all of Asia only Japan and Singapore rank higher than Taiwan. The quality of life is quite similar to what is found in America or Europe. The island is 240 miles long and 60 to 90 miles wide — about the same size as Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island combined. The soil is very fertile and intensive farming is the mode. Fishing in the coastal waters is also important to Taiwan's food supply. Currently the island is 85 percent self-sufficient in food. The inosculation of land and sea make island China beautiful. Its mountains, its subtropical climate (similar to Florida or Hawaii), and its seashore and beaches come together to create a macedoine that is correctly described in the Portuguese word "Formosa" (beautiful island).

Taiwan presents many contrasts to the United States. It was, therefore, an excellent location in which to do the type of research that is found in the essay that follows.

Incidentally, off the west coast of Taiwan are the hyetal Peng-hu islands. This writer also spent time there lecturing and investigating education in these windswept, mystical, yet beautiful islets that are part of the province of Taiwan. An American could write a great deal about the beauty and numinousness of Taiwan and its off-shore islands and also about its recent significant economic development and progress. Yet the feature that stands out most is the generosity and kindness of the Chinese people who have allowed Taiwan to remain a society in the image of Confucius.



Chapter 1

ORIENTATIONS

The educational process in Taiwan is based on a protracted history that has, in many respects, changed relatively little over two thousand years of Chinese history. Of all the institutions in China, two have functioned as the ballast for that civilization's splendor and vivaciousness—the family and the concept of open education.

While we in the West have garnered our ethical and moral sustenance from religious institutions and dogma, the Chinese (and to a lesser degree the Japanese, Koreans, and the peoples of Southeast Asia—all of whom owe much of their cultural development and institutions to China) have relied on education as the vehicle for upward mobility, good government, social and political harmony, and a general relative absence of societal rancor. When our ancestors were carving up Europe (as well as each other) over territoriality, China had established a strong centralized government with efficient administrative systems, national transportation, ability to print with movable type, and educational ideals that, even today are a model for developing nations.

Perhaps the Chinese word for education, *zhiao-yu* can be used to help develop a focus on what the teaching-learning process means in traditional China and modern Taiwan. The compound — which is really two ideographic characters — shows us how deeply rooted in Chinese cultural activity the educative system remains. The first symbol in this two-part word can be defined to mean "to guide, counsel, teach, educate." The second character (*yu*) can be defined as follows: To give sustenance, to nourish, nurture, lead, or help grow. Education in the Chinese sense carries with it a set of goals

that far exceed those which we in the West anticipate from our institutions of learning. The educational process in both learning and pedagogy is viewed as a two-fold activity. First is the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next. Along with this is the concept of developing new ideas through a thorough understanding of the old. Hence to be fully educated one must first acquire a knowledge and understanding of that which has already been accepted as within the purview of the learned man. The Chinese language, which relies on symbols and can be acquired only through memorization, reflects this concept.

A second and perhaps more important dimension of the cognitive educative system in China is the view that the school, be it for children of age three or for postdoctoral studies, is a place where values, morals, and ethical priorities will be learned. Seen as more than a transmitter of information, the traditional and modern teacher in China is also envisaged to foster moral and ethical views in his students by (1) his personal behavior of uprightness and conscience, and (2) what he demands of his pupils and charges. While we in America demand that all teachers be neutral on topics that are of an ethical nature, the Chinese instill in their teachers the idea that they are examples for their students and that the ideas expressed in classes and the behavior exhibited in public will function as a role model for future generations and the society at large. Possibly we can draw a comparison: Western education is based in many ways on our Greco-Roman-Medieval heritage. Socrates, a teacher in Greece during its golden age, went against the mores of the society by expressing inconoclastic views on morals, law, and government. His fate was, of course, death. Confucius, who was also an iconoclast, expressed a system of social and political views that challenged the pristine status quo of China during the Chou Dynasty. His fate, as we shall see, was to become the greatest educator in the history of humankind. The comparison suggests that to bring moral arguments into the classroom is an unacceptable facet of traditional Western pedagogy; in the East it is expected that the teacher, whether in the elementary school or professor at an elite university, will constantly self-evaluate his or her behavior, lectures, and re-

sponses on both the cognitive and the ethical levels.

All societies have set up certain goals for their education systems. In modern Taiwan education, in the broadest sense, is to bring about personal enrichment and development, social harmony, and a cadre of skilled men and women who can accept the challenges of their nation's industrial growth, population problems, land and sea usage, and political and diplomatic activities.

The goals of a nation's education system cannot be easily separated from the historical evolution that has placed the society where it is currently. Some of the goals of Taiwan's education system today are found in all civilized nations. Others are unique to the island state. All the values that an educational system attempts to perpetuate through its formal and informal educational settings must be synergistic with the general social, political, and economic aims that both extrinsic governmental policy dictates and the intrinsic historical evolutionary process has left as its legacy to its people. The schools of modern Taiwan are government controlled or sanctioned institutions that are charged with the responsibility of developing in younger and older students mores, attitudes, skills, behavior patterns, and a future orientedness that will allow a majority of their pupils a place in the society and also to find meaning in their lives. Because of the homogeneity of Taiwan population, few conflicts exist between what the school system strives to achieve and those values that are found in peer-group relationships, family life, religious institutions, or even government, military, or business enterprises.

Taiwan education today focuses on ensuring the orderly transmission of the heritage of China and developing attitudes that suggest that the group — family, siblings, peers, community, nation — are of paramount importance in the preparation of harmonious and prosperous living. Education, suggests Ronald S. Anderson, writing in *Comparative Educational Systems*,

> has to answer at least three different kinds of demands: (1) The demand of the state which as part of the national investment requires a pool of the labor force with highly developed skills enabling the state to advance economically and become mod-

ernized; (2) the demand of the individual as a consumer of education for the development of personal potential and for preparation for a career, as well as for education as an end itself, for the individual's own enjoyment — this latter is possible only when the society has become more affluent; and (3) the demand inherent in social change, the extension of equality of opportunity as a way of extending democracy [a basic tenet in the ideas of Dr. Sun Yat-sen].

(Ignas, 1981, pp. 233-234)

The specific aims that Taiwan now has in its educational system are found in Section 5, Chapter 13 of the Constitution of the Republic of China (1947). In summary, the goal is as follows: "The purpose of Chinese education [in Taiwan] is to improve national living, to achieve mutual assistance, to develop national economic life and to prolong the life of the nation, democracy and a higher standard of living, and in the end, advance to an ideal world where harmony and equality prevail."

When researchers study the educational system of China, they must include in their inquiry that document that theoretically sets the tone for the political, economic, social, and educative life of the people of contemporary Taiwan. Scholars differ as to the exact place the writings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen have in the realpolitik of day-to-day activity in island China; yet a cursory review of the literature that deals with Taiwan's development since the late 1940's — and specifically a review of the curriculum of colleges, universities, and public and private primary and secondary schools — suggests that the *San Min Chu-yi (Three Principles of the People)* has been a cohesive force in the society. Not only has this work been a binding factor, it has also given the people of Taiwan an intellectual base upon which to reconstruct their society.

In the teachers colleges and normal schools of Taiwan an integral part of the curriculum consists of the study, evaluation, and assimilation of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *San Min Chu-yi (Three Principles of the People)*. Like the American Declaration of Independence, which sets forth both an abstract revolutionary and nationalistic framework for nation-state development, the *San Min Chu-yi* outlines for the Chinese people — in a vagueness that lends itself to numerous interpreta-

tions — a set of ideals and principles for making modern China a synthesis of the best of her ancient heritage and ideas and values of the West (Smith, 1981, pp. 17–29).

The author of *Three Principles of the People* was Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Republic of China. Sun is viewed by the Chinese in the same way Americans see Washington and Jefferson.

Born into a farming family near Canton, Sun at an early age showed himself to be of an independent and often of a rebellious bent. This can be seen by his conversion to Christianity at an early age. He began his education in China but at 14 moved to his brother's home in Honolulu where he attended an Anglican missionary school. In these formative years, when one's morals, personality, and consciousness are evolving, Sun was developing in his value system a meld of East and West. Many youngsters would have had difficulty reconciling these two minds; Sun Yat-sen was able to draw intellectual strength from his Chinese roots and from the Western education and contacts he was to acquire and cherish throughout his highly productive life.

In his later years, after having spent much time traveling in Europe and America and being the major figure in the revolutionary movement that overthrew the Manchu and set up the Republic in 1911, Sun laid down in writing a framework that he believed necessary to revitalize and modernize Chinese civilization. Its importance is evidenced by the fact that today in the Republic of China the *San Min Chu-yi* is still taught in all public and private schools. At the university level one may earn an advanced degree in the ideas of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

Besides the *San Min Chu-yi*, Sun penned such other important works as *Chien-kuo fang-lueh (Plans for National Reconstruction), Sun Wen hsueh shuo (Political Philosophy of Sun Yat-sen),* and *Min-ch'uan ch'u-pu (First Step to Democracy).* Developing his principles through the early 1900's, it was not until 1924 that they were ready for formal presentation to the people of China. Unfortunately, Dr. Sun's illness and death prevented the *San Min Chu-yi* from reaching its finalized version. Had Sun lived longer it is suggested that he would have made revisions and defined more clearly his ideas, particularly those in which he discusses the socioeconomic development

of China. Yet even with its imperfections *Three Principles of the People* is a brilliant analysis of the protracted history and culture of China and the need for modernization along Western lines. Sun dealt only peripherally with education; it is implicit in his writing, however, that he saw the need for an educated populace which would engage in the revitalization and modernization of China.

Dr. Dun J. Li in his lucid book, *The Ageless Chinese* (1978), discusses in some detail *San Min Chu-yi*.

The *Three Principles of the People* addresses the issues of "Nationalism," "Democracy," and "People's Livelihood."

"Nationalism" to Sun was the first step in the developmental process all nation-states must follow. China in this period was fragmented due to a number of factors. Numerous nations had established spheres of influence in China and these had been formalized by treaty under Manchu. Sun believed that it was necessary for China to become her own master and to do this the treaty-system that had existed since the Opium War had to be revised. Sun also believed that the Chinese had to give up certain traditions — namely, their unwavering devotion and loyalty to the extended family — and redirect this to the nation-state.

Facing China at this time was the unequal treatment of certain Chinese ethnic minorities. Sun Yat-sen addressed this issue by saying that all Chinese, be they of the Han or other group, must have the same equal legal, economic, and political prerogatives. When this eventuated, all Chinese would be one family of people and the history of regional conflict that had so weakened China could be ended. These steps were necessary as a precursor to China's moving into the international association of nations; her own national sovereignty was the first step toward being treated as an equal in the world community.

The *San Min Chu-yi* addresses next the subject of "democracy." China, having lived under dynastic rule for thousands of years, must move slowly into democracy. Sun saw three states: (1) Military rule that would unify the nation and ensure its integrity; (2) a period in which a single political party — humane and representative — would govern for the good of the people; (3) the final phase in which the political party

would willingly turn over the control of the nation to a popularly elected national government. The exact model — parliamentary or presidential — is not answered but one must remember Sun's great respect for the United States system.

Leadership of the new democratic China would be in the hands of the intelligentsia. Sun believed strongly in the competitive examination system and only men or women who had excelled in the testing process could achieve high office. Equality in mankind is an abstraction and not a reality, suggests Sun. In this concept we see Sun's familiarity with Plato's *Republic*. The fabric of the government would have woven into it checks and balances; no one branch would be able to dominate — rather all branches (executive, legislative, judiciary, examination, and censorate) would work in constitutional harmony.

The last and perhaps most important issue Sun addressed in *San Min Chu-i* is "People's Livelihood." Because Sun's writing on this subject is most ambiguous, numerous interpretations have been given to it. Dr. Dun J. Li states that "Sun's economic theory . . . can best be described as a moderate socialism." Sun Yat-sen did not believe in the concept of a Marxist class struggle or a laissez-faire capitalistic economic system. Extremism on either side could only bring about perpetual disharmony and violence and paralyze the nation. Rather, John K. Fairbank of Harvard suggests in his study, *East Asia: Tradition and Transformation* (1973), that Sun was influenced by the ideas of the American, Henry George, who in his seminal study, *Progress and Poverty* (1879), suggested a "single tax to appropriate future unearned increase of land values and thus check the enrichment of speculators and monopolists." Sun advocated government control of the essential industries of China, yet he recognized the place for the small businessman and farmer and the need to promote competition at this level. Land distribution was another key to the success of China's future. Accomplishing this would necessitate an elaborate plan to compensate the great landowners who for generations had held in bondage the nonlandowning peasantry. Conflict between the haves and the have-nots must be avoided and, consequently, Sun's plan for socioeconomic change is evolutionary and compensatory.

One of his greatest fears was pitting the traditional landed aristocracy against the tillers of the soil.

To the people of the Republic of China Dr. Sun Yat-sen is envisaged both as a statesman and a philosopher. His principles are learned by all of the children in Taiwan and, like Confucius, his influence on Chinese society continues to be a profound vehicle for national synergism. He was a man of the highest personal integrity and ethics, and even his political and ideological adversaries respected his brilliance and tenacity (Smith, 1981, pp. 17-21).

Professor Dun J. Li in *The Ageless Chinese* makes these comments about Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his significance in the historical development of China:

> Sun believed that his political philosophy was a combination of the very best from "the East and the West." While borrowing extensively from the prevailing Western ideologies, he hoped to preserve for his new China what he regarded as the best in China's ancient heritage. He was not an originator of any philosophical system in a metaphysical sense; the merits of his works lay more in their practical wisdom. He strove to solve the problems China then faced and hoped eventually to build a new society in which economic prosperity and social justice would exist simultaneously with political independence. He was a great patriot, and all his works should be read in that context (p. 462).

Chinese education as it exists today is the product of a long and glorious history spanning nearly two thousand years. It has been the focus of education during this extensive period to prepare younger and older students in such a manner that they would develop attitudes that were healthy in the context of Chinese life. Service to the society has been one of the preconceived agendas that is implied in the educational history of China. To this end the system that developed in the Chou Dynasty (500-200 B.C.) and remains evident in Taiwan today has worked to create a public civil servant system that would bring about honest government, quality education, and a fair competitive examination process that would constantly nourish and replenish the leadership of the country.

When one discusses Chinese education history, it is impos-

sible not to envision Confucianism as so woven into the fabric of educational philosophy and pedagogy that the two — an intellectual model for proper and ethical behavior and an active process of teaching and learning — have become essentially synonymous.

It was Confucius' view that moral behavior was governed by relations and respect. Consequently, a son would respect his older brothers, his mother, and his father; older people would likewise control and help their children. Citizens would revere their government leaders; and the leaders, because they were the elite of the society, would treat the populace with fairness and dignity. The basis of Confucius' educational view is that education knows no class distinction and does not therefore discriminate. During the Han period (200 B.C.-200 A.D.), Confucianism became the dominant intellectual force in Chinese society and was studied by all who hoped to matriculate into government positions. It was during this era that the first state-supported academies evolved. It was also in the Han Dynasty that the earliest competitive examination system can be seen. Competitive examination as a means of upward mobility served two purposes; (1) it ended the nepotism that China had had previously as the only way of selecting leaders of the society, and (2) it assured the Emperor a cadre of scholar-civil servants always available to take on the responsibilities of directing the institutions of the nation.

The Sung Dynasty (920-1279) saw a revamping of the Chinese educational system. It was during the Sung that the examination system reached its highest level of sophistication. Formal degrees that reflected a scholar's level of achievement were established, as were government schools that had as their mission the preparation of civil servants for their jobs as well as for the forthcoming examination. Plans were developed during the Sung for a nationwide school system and a national university to serve as a clearing house for all those hardy scholars who chose to attempt the highest degrees. Confucianism was now the main subject studied. If standard texts were used as the basis for examination, equal opportunity for all students throughout the nation would be engendered. Movable type and improvements in making

paper contributed greatly to the widespread distribution of the writings of the sage as well as the enhancement of the greater equalization of education opportunity (Fairbank, 1973; Franke, 1960; Ignas, 1981).

A continuance of the study of the Confucian classics was the foundation of Chinese education during the Ching Dynasty (1644-1912). However, as China became aware of Western scientific developments and scholarship, a movement away from purely philosophical studies was begun. Confucianism was never abandoned; rather this philosophy and those ideas of the scientific West were often concurrently studied by the Chinese intelligentsia. Some have suggested that the great emphasis placed on Confucianism at this juncture in Chinese history, when the West was challenging China's territorial and legal integrity, slowed down that nation's political and economic growth. Perhaps a better and more accurate view is that China, in this age when the Western nations were making great scientific progress, chose to emphasize its historical legacy and strengths at the expense of scientific and empirical advancements. One must remember that China for the preceding two thousand years was far in advance of Europe as a civilization; to change the pattern of life that had given China its splendor was antithetical to those in the ruling elite, most of whom had achieved their positions through the traditional means. At this time Chinese scholars were making contact with their counterparts in Japan, Europe, and particularly America.

The Republic period, initiated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolution of 1910-11, thrust China into the 20th century. For the first half of the 20th century China attempted to synthesize its traditional philosophical and pedagogical ideas with those of the West, particularly the United States. Professor John Dewey's visit in 1919-21, the sojourn of other American educationalists, and the training of numerous Chinese intellectuals in America hastened the educational reform movement initiated in 1905 and by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (Smith, 1981). Unfortunately for China, political and ideological problems within the nation as well as a full-scale war with an expansionistic, aggressive Japan precluded the types of meaningful reforms that scholars like Hu Shih, Chang Mon-

lin, Chang Chi-yun, and others tried to bring about. World War II and its destructiveness to much of Asia and the dislocation in 1949 of the national government from Nanking to Taiwan (a province of China that in 1895 had been seized and occupied by Japan) halted all needed education reform efforts. Not until the mid 1950's, when the Republic of China was securely in place on Taiwan, were the changes dreamed about by educational philosophers and government leaders sympathetic to the cause of progressive, open, accessible education realized. Yet even with the turmoil that characterized the last years of the Ching Dynasty and much of the 20th century, China attempted at times valiantly and at other times vaingloriously to bring about educational opportunity to its people. So ingrained in the psychology of the Chinese is the value of education that it is often characterized as the true religion of the people.

Today Chinese education in Taiwan has many of the characteristics that are found in other developed nations. Leaders of the various institutions and those in governmental positions have, in large part, been influenced by the configuration of education that is currently found in the U.S. There are differences but these are more in the process; the objective of education in Taiwan and those in the rest of the developed world remain constant — to bring about a sense of self-worth to younger and older students, to pass on the heritage and goals of the nation, and to prepare a group of educated men and women who can continue the development of the civilization.

A major variance that exists between the legalistic-structural framework of education in Taiwan versus the United States is the high degree of national-governmental involvement in Taiwan's system.

In the U.S. there is no nationwide system of schools under the auspices of a central authority. There is no organized national standard for curricula, methods, finance, teacher certification requirements, minimum graduation standards, or professional ethics. Rather — due to what may have been an oversight on the part of the framers of the Constitution — education is simply not addressed in the national or federal context. (The Constitution was written in a time when formal

education was virtually nonexistent.) It falls, therefore, under the states, which have given the system over to local communities. Politics is consequently a major theme running through America's educational system with school board members representing their communities in all aspects of public education. The problem with this system is all too evident: the quality of education at the local level depends upon who is elected to the school board. If they are dullards or anti-intellectual in their educational views, the quality of the local school system will reflect this.

Behind the concept of local education is the view that communities should have represented in their school their unique local values and mores and to deny this would be antithetical to the concept of individualism, states rights, and parental control over their youngsters' learning and thinking. No doubt in the 19th century, when mobility was minimal and states did not have greater control over taxes, this concept was valid, especially in a nation that was both large and sparsely populated. America has changed significantly in the last 80 years but the administration of education still remains in the 19th century mold.

Numerous influences have come together to create the educational system that America now has. Historically these forces can be viewed in chronological sequence. The determination of early church leaders, particularly of the Protestant sect, stressed the need of man to be able to read. This, it was believed, would allow the populace to acquire an understanding of the Bible and consequently act in accordance with its teachings. Access to truth and the ability to read the Bible and the sermons of such charismatic writers as Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards were viewed as synonymous. Most schools established in the first two centuries of American history emphasized this theme.

A second major fact that created the type of public school system we have was the eagerness on the part of politicians to help the "common man" overcome his ignorance and become part of the widening suffrage. Another factor was that as America became industrialized opportunites for upward mobility developed. Education was seen as a way for poorer children to move into the middle-class mainstream. The need

for skilled workers and managers is a fifth reason for the evolution of the American educational system. As we became a world power our industrial complexes needed more skilled workers. A sixth reason was also related to industrial growth. Unions who saw children as a threat to jobs of older men (who would demand higher pay) pushed for public education as a way to improve the marketplace for labor union members. Americanization of immigrants was and is again a major factor in the concept of public education in America. Some 30 million foreigners have come to America since 1880; these people or their children had to be educated to the extent that they would blend into the cultural and social system of the United States. Lastly, the threat — real or imagined — of foreign aggression toward America has helped shape our school system. In 1957-61 the USSR had a virtual monopoly on space and long-range missile systems. The federal government saw this as a threat (not a challenge) and dumped great sums of monies into science and engineering education in American schools.

The United States is currently in what may turn out to be a new phase of the historical evolution of American education. Persons who have generally been hampered by exceptionalities, racial prejudice, or sex bias are now being given advantages that for the last three hundred years they were denied. Whether this will be a major phase in American education or simply a means to placate interest groups is not yet possible to anticipate. One can hope that the same emphasis that was placed on American education after Sputnik will be again evidenced *vis-a-vis* those students who have previously been denied equal access to schooling.

American education is organized so that states have control over all public schools and most colleges. A parallel system of private schools and colleges exists and is now growing. About 18 percent of all students K-12 attend private schools, and about 35 percent attend private colleges and universities. States delegate control to local governments, which then develop school system models that must satisfy state law. Nominal supreme power over public schools is vested in appointed or elected local officials, most of whom have little or no training in pedagogy. The school system has an elected or

appointed superintendent, and each school has a principal who has had some limited training in the field of administration. Often the principal was a popular and dynamic teacher who, as principal, becomes weak and ineffectual. He is paid more than his teachers and the job usually carries more prestige than a teacher's. Children begin school usually at age 5, and most (65 percent) complete 12 years. Promotion is normally related to age and not achievement, but each state determines requirement for promotion and graduation. No national required examinations are given, and a youngster leaving a weak school system with A's may be far less prepared for college or a career than a youngster graduating from a top public school system with C's. Tests are the method used to grade children. These are usually developed by the teacher; occasionally they are given state-wide in a given subject field. In recent years vocational education (grades 10-12) has been emphasized but generally only "slow learners" are involved.

In American education emphasis is generally related to that which is practical and functional. Little time is spent on speculative thought, art, abstract theoretic work, or ethical development. Schools base success on competition, and hence from an early age American children are taught that success is related to surpassing one's peers and not cooperating with them. Continuous attention is placed on conformity and peer group standards (e.g., the middle-class value system); hence the child who is more intellectual than his peers or iconoclastic in his views, dress, or behavior will be forced to conform or he/she will be seen by teachers and students as a deviant from the group. Undue emphasis is placed on patriotic and quasi-religious themes, and the myth of a democratic classroom with students and parents having input into decisions is still present.

A number of solutions have been suggested by economists, educators, and sociologists that if implemented could ameliorate many of the difficulties we currently face, particularly problems in the field of classroom management — a euphemism for discipline.

A voucher system whereby a youngster is given the money and the opportunity to select any approved learning setting is one option. In this parents could send their child to the best

school for his/her individual needs; the normal costs of public education would be prorated and parents could use these fiscal credits to educate their youngster. Another idea is that specialization in a given field or vocation be begun in the sixth year to eighth year. Children often are bored with subjects that they see as irrelevant to their lives. Specialization based on tests and interests could help the child see a relationship between his education and his interests.

Allowing children to leave the regular school for other less traditional learning experiences at age 12 to 14 is another suggestion. Hence the traditional school would be made up of students who want to be there; the others would be gaining job experience or alternative education. They could return to the traditional school whenever they chose. Public education would then have much of the prestige that private schools currently hold.

Edward Ingas states:

> Certainly the educational system in the U.S is the world's most expensive. Its teachers are the best trained. It produces more professionals — engineers, doctors, lawyers, scientists — than any other contry. Most Nobel Prize winners are Americans. And yet eminent students of education declare that the American educational system is a failure. Of the children who come out of our schools with 12 years of education, a high percentage — about one-fifth — are unable to read or fill out a job questionnaire (p. vi).

As is suggested in this review of education in the United States, the decentralized approach, which is the result of a 200-year historical tradition, has inordinate problems to overcome in order to achieve its essential mission.

Centralization characterizes the administrative structure of the Republic of China in Taiwan. Two governing bodies administer the education needs of the island — the Ministry of Education and the Provincial Department of Education. In general terms all higher education, teacher pre-service training, and international education and exchange programs fall under the Ministry of Education. Both Taipei and Kaohsiung City have been declared "special municipalities," and their educational system falls under the Ministry of Education Spe-

cial Bureau that has exclusive control over the teaching-learning process.

The Provincial Department has the administrative responsibility for all education in the nation that is not specifically under the Ministry of Education. Geographically and in terms of population, the Provincial Department, located in the suburbs of Taichung (the Provincial capital), has greater responsibility than the Ministry, which is located in the largest city of Taiwan — Taipei. Yet the Ministry of Education has historically set the tempo for educational activities in China. The ability of these two offices to work in harmony has helped create in Taiwan an educational system that strives to bring about equal learning opportunities to all persons on that island.

At the first level of education in Taiwan is the national compulsory education system. This includes grades 1-9. Prior to 1968 compulsory education ended after sixth grade and an examination was required to matriculate into junior high school. For a variety of reasons the national government in 1968 chose to implement nine years of free education. Paramount in this decision was the economic growth that Taiwan was experiencing. Also the population of the island republic was growing rapidly; and pressure was placed on the government by educational leaders, entrepreneurs, and even the military to enhance the educational skills of the population at large. This undertaking was of great importance to the evolution of the pedagogical processes in Taiwan: more teachers, facilities, administrators, and funds were needed to effect this change. With the type of centralized education administration that exists in Taiwan, the process of upgrading compulsory education from six to nine years was accomplished with a minimum of rancor. Today approximately 99 percent of children who are between the ages of 6 and 15 attend the public and private schools of Taiwan or are in special education classes or facilities. In the year 1968 there were some 2,244 elementary schools in Taiwan with a student enrollment of 2,383,200. Today (1983) there are 2,444 elementary schools with an enrollment of 2,213,200, plus open and free junior high schools numbering 58 with a student population of 1,070,942.

The second level of the education system in Taiwan is the secondary school. These include the academic high schools and the senior vocational schools. Movement from the ninth grade to the public and private high schools is mandated by successfully passing a national, open, and fairly administered examination.

The goal of the academic senior high school is to prepare young men and women (15-18) in subject matter that will have a direct bearing on their college and university education. Though only a small percentage (28 percent) of those admitted to academic high school are able to pass the draconian examination and consequently matriculate to a college or university, these schools have as their mission to prepare all who atttend in academic subjects. A major complaint heard in Taiwan is that the academic high school teaches children how to pass the national competitive examination and not how to prepare for the vicissitudes of life in a dynamic society and changing world.

Yet tremendous importance is placed on being admitted to the right academic high school. This is evidenced by the increase in the number of these schools in the last 30 years. In 1952 there were 62 academic high schools in Taiwan, while 1982 finds the total of academic high schools to be 180. The number of students has also increased in this 30-year time span from 18,900 to 182,400. This increase is disproportionate to the real population growth of the society of Taiwan and suggests a wider based affluence and a continuation of faith in advanced education as a conduit to a quality livelihood and family betterment.

Taiwan today is also working to improve and increase its vocational secondary schools. The thirst for technical training is strong among those who choose not to go to the academic high school. There are some 196 vocational secondary schools with a studentry of nearly 400,000. Virtually any socially relevant vocational, technical, and industrial subjects can be studied at these well managed and disciplined institutions. Agricultural science, fishery studies, commerce, home economics, nursing, and other fields are available for the career-minded pupil. A competitive examination is required for acceptance at one of these vocational-technical institutions

which are evenly distributed throughout Taiwan's land mass. Present government policy is to strengthen further these vocational-technical schools. Eventually it is anticipated that 75 percent of all high school students will find their way into one of these settings; plans also call for selected four-year technical colleges to admit some of these students.

Higher education in modern Taiwan comprises normal junior colleges, professional junior colleges, four-year degree-granting colleges, universities, and research centers. Junior colleges in Taiwan consist of two types — five-year and two/three-year schools. Students enter the five-year junior colleges after the ninth grade for training in such fields as applied sciences and advanced technology. The two/three-year school accepts graduates of academic high schools. The junior normal college is also begun after the ninth grade. The mission of these distinguished schools is to prepare teachers to teach in the elementary schools of Taiwan. Admission to the junior normal college is predicated on passing an extremely competitive examination. The success ratio on this nationwide examination, given in the summer between 9th and 10th grades, is one in 50. It is administered by the nine junior normal colleges that are strategically located throughout Taiwan.

Taiwan currently has 16 universities and 11 four-year colleges (a college may become a university when it has three master's degree granting institutes and meets specific criteria of the Ministry of Education). One hundred and four institutions of higher education are currently in operation in Taiwan with a combined student population of 358,500. It may be noted that 30 years ago Taiwan had one university, three colleges, and three junior normal colleges with a total student enrollment of 6,700.

Graduate education has also become an important part of education in Taiwan. Two years beyond the B.A. is normally required to earn the master's degree. The Ph.D. is normally awarded after three to five years of further study. Part-time and evening education at the graduate level are not currently available. Students, however, may earn a full bachelor's degree by attending five years of evening education. The requirements for the four-year day B.A. and five-year night

school degree are essentially the same, though the day student appears to have more prestige in Taiwan's society. Professional fields require differing lengths of time for completing a degree: Law, five years; architecture, five years; dentistry, six years; and medicine, seven to nine years of study (D. Smith, 1978).

Along with the education advancement made for gifted and competent children, a system of training has also been developed for children with exceptionalities. Supplemental and special education for blind, deaf, physically handicapped, and retarded youngsters is now an important dimension of the educational structure in Taiwan. Gifted education programs in the regular school setting and mainstreaming children with mild handicaps are the current policies of the educational leadership in Taiwan. American educationalists have served as consultants in the field of special education.

Adult recurrent education makes up the last segment of the traditional profile of education in the Republic of China. In an effort to help older students gain meaningful employment in the rapidly developing industry/technical structure of Taiwan, schools sponsored by the government have been established, mainly in the larger cities. These function as an avenue for the older person to find a place in the work force. People attending these adult education centers are often from the rural farm areas and have recently chosen to move to the city, which is seen by the Chinese as the place to find economic success and security.

Reviewing the structure of education in modern Taiwan and in the United States, one notes that the Chinese system places a great emphasis on a centralized education system with periodic local and national examinations. Centralization assures standardized learning for all members of the studentry. This does not suggest that intellectual stagnation is fostered; rather all children are given an equal opportunity to become part of the educative process, to compete, and to move into the higher levels of academic life. The homogeneity of Chinese society allows certain assumptions to be made about the Chinese students — basically that external factors such as language, race, and family orientation

and life are essentially the same throughout the island, and the competitiveness of the examination system which is so important in moving up the levels of academe is therefore theoretically not culturally, linguistically, or ethnically biased.

教師

Chapter 2

LEGACIES
Features of Chinese Educational and Intellectual Thought

Chinese education, as has previously been mentioned, has a continuous heritage of some two thousand years. Many factors no doubt contribute to this, including the geography of China and the generalization that food supplies in that part of the earth have historically been more abundant than in Europe, Africa, and other ancient worlds. Yet there are perhaps five broad features of Chinese civilization that, when studied, seem to separate that society's educational legacy from other nations. The intertwining of education with society makes it difficult to suggest that certain features of a nation interplay specifically and actively with the pedagogical process. Reviewing the literature on past and current Chinese education in Taiwan and reading the history and historical interpretations of that civilization suggest that certain legacies characterize Chinese educational history and philosophy and make the educative process most unique.

The features, which are societal in nature but which interplay with two millenniums of Chinese education, are (1) centralization, (2) family life, (3) the examination system, (4) Confucianism, and (5) linguistic patterns. It is impossible to determine which of these has had the most profound effect. No doubt other characteristics have also contributed to the vividity of Chinese educational history. These five, however, appear most profound.

Bertrand Russell in his important book, *The Problem of China* (1922), comes to the conclusion that the Chinese use of ideograms is one of the major features that gives Sinica its distinc-

tive character. Russell*, who was in China in the early 1920's as a professor of philosophy at the University of Peking, noted that while the written Chinese language (which relies on thousands of characters or ideographs for expression) creates many problems, it also has some distinctive advantages. Other scholars have also come to this conclusion. It is one of the main qualities that makes the Chinese society and the educative process so unique and one could suggest it has had a profound effect on the stability of that civilization's institutions, particularly its academic vividity.

The Chinese do not have an alphabetical system; that is, letters that are put in a certain juxtaposition to form a word, and hence an idea, do not exist in the Chinese language. Great problems are engendered because of this, such as the use of dictaphones, typewriters, translation of names and foreign words, word processors, and anything that relies on alphabetical order for filing or other conveniences. Yet there are subtle advantages to the Chinese written language over the European and Semitic languages.

The written character to a Chinese represents an idea and not a word. It is essentially self-contained and when put in sequence with other characters it forms a collection of mini-ideas that creates in the mind a concept. The system of the use of ideographics is not totally unique to Westerners; our numerical system is, of course, idea and not sound oriented, and learning numbers is no more or less difficult than learning the alphabet. Phonetic writing, which is currently in vogue in American education, is quite impossible in a pictorial based language. To acquire a strong language base requires sheer memorization of literally thousands of characters. No shortcut exists in this process; words quite simply

*Bertrand Russell, like John Dewey and most other American intellectuals and scholars who have visited the Orient, have found China far superior to Japan. Most have come away with the view that Japan is a rather unfriendly, ethnocentric, brash society and that Chinese civilization is far superior in all areas of life except industrial might. Professor Russell, in his later years, became involved with various iconoclastic political and social movements which should not detract from his brilliance and analytical abilities.

cannot be sounded — or figured — out. Consequently in China children who become part of the school system must follow the most fundamental of all ways to learn their language — memorization.

The same principles of learning language in China are applied to mathematical skills. Mathematics, incidentally, is seen by many as the purest and highest level of intellectual development. As Dr. Chor-Wen Tai, Dean of Cooper Union's School of Engineering in New York City, has suggested, "Chinese have a high regard for education and a gift for detail and precision that enables them to do particularly well in math. The traditional method of learning in China is memorization, for which there is still a place in mathematic study" (*New York Times*, 1982). Dr. An Wang, the Shanghai-American chairman of Wang Laboratories, carries the concept a step further when he suggests: "In the Chinese language there is the one-syllable character and Arabic numbers are also one syllable. Chinese may simply find it easier to read numbers and characters than words" (*New York Times*, 1982). There is ample evidence to suggest that Chinese do disproportionately well in the mathematic sciences, their language development, which in the learning process is much like acquiring and understanding of mathematical formulas and which is learned from early childhood, may contribute directly to this.

China has traditionally placed great reverence in age. An equation is often drawn between an aged person and a wise person. Again language plays a part, in that to acquire a large vocabulary in Chinese and hence a greater depth of thought one must spend longer periods of his/her life on memorizing the characters that form the Chinese language. Forty years of study is not unusual to acquire a full vocabulary. Chinese characters can be read throughout the whole literate Chinese population, even though each province and sub-province has its own spoken dialect, and even today the Chinese can read texts that were written two thousand years ago. European languages of just a few hundred years ago are today virtually unrecognizable. Bertrand Russell suggests that the Chinese language has indeed affected the mentality and learning process of China. He quotes in his book the following, written by

Mr. Chi Li in *Chinese Students Monthly* (1922):

> Language has been traditionally treated by European scientists as a collection of sounds instead of an expression of something inner and deeper than the vocal apparatus as it should be. The accumulative effect of language-symbols upon one's mental formulation is still an unexploited field. Dividing the world culture of the living races on this basis, one perceives a fundamental difference of its types between the alphabetical users and the hieroglyphic users, each of which has its own virtues and vices. Now, with all respect to alphabetical civilization, it must be frankly stated that it has a grave and inherent defect in its lack of solidity. The most civilized portion under the alphabetical culture is also inhabited by the most fickled people. The history of the Western land repeats the same story over and over again. Thus up and down with the Greeks; up and down with Rome; up and down with the Arabs. The ancient Semitic and Hametic peoples are essentally alphabetic users, and their civilizations show the same lack of solidity as the Greeks and the Romans. Certainly this phenomenon can be partially explained by the extra-fluidity of the alphabetical language which cannot be depended upon as a suitable organ to conserve any solid idea. Intellectual contents of these people may be likened to waterfalls and cataracts, rather than seas and oceans. No other people is richer in ideas than they; but no people would give up their valuable ideas as quickly as they do . . . .
>
> The Chinese language is by all means the counterpart of the alphabetic stock. It lacks most of the virtues that are found in the alphabetic language; but as an embodiment of the simple and final truth, it is invulnerable to storm and stress. It has already protected the Chinese civilization for more than forty centuries. It is solid, square, and beautiful, exactly as the spirit of it represents. Whether it is the spirit that has produced this language or whether this language has in turn accentuated the spirit remains to be determined (Quoted in Russell, 1922, p. 327).

Another important feature of the Chinese language is the general absence of concepts of *tense*. It is impossible in European languages to form a sentence without a verb that places the sentence in a time context, e.g., present, past, future. Mandarin Chinese, the language of modern Taiwan, expres-

ses a relative tense. Hence the action or state of being in the sentence is understood by the juxtaposition of words, e.g., the use of a key word that suggests when the action will occur or has occurred. In many Chinese sentences the suggestion of the tense by a key word is absent. The question then is how do Chinese when speaking know exactly in what time frame they are dealing. Linguists have come to realize that factors such as the overall structure must be considered if one is to truly understand the Chinese language and its absence of tense. A step further would suggest that the great degree of homogeneity among the Chinese population and the similar lives that so vast a collection of people have lived (and still live) might play a part in their communication skills. Subtle hints, such as body language, symbolic proximity, epistemological parallelism and precognitions, placing words in a certain order, or indicating key reference points that are universally familiar, all tend to contribute to the understanding in all languages of relative tense but more so to Chinese which is devoid of linguistic cases. It is not yet possible to judge fully to what extent the Chinese language relies on nonverbal or nonwritten signals but there can be little question that the subtleties of the language far exceed what we currently know (Swanson, 1981).

Perhaps the Chinese language at one time in history had inflections, declensions, conjunctives, clauses, tenses, and moods. History, however, does not record these as part of the linguistic heritage. Some 40,000 characters make up the written Chinese language, though most people in modern Taiwan probably have a mastery of and use for only four to five thousand. The characters of today, which have evolved from pictures and portrayals of events, are highly complex and can explain virtually every thought, idea, mood, expression, and sense that other languages can. The use of overlays of the original primitive pictorial character has created a highly stylized written language that captures every nuance. Perhaps the clearest advantage to the ideographic language form is that it is absolutely separated from the spoken form. Consequently, Japanese, Koreans, and others who have their own national spoken languages can read quite easily much of the Chinese language. It also unites the people of China no

matter what their local, provincial, or regional dialect (over 100 currently exist). Will Durant, one of the greatest of American scholars, when speaking of the Chinese language, makes these observations:

> . . . Since written language has remained essentially the same while the spoken language has diverged from it into a hundred dialects, the literature of Chi[illegible] written for two thousand years in these characters, can [illegible] today by any literate Chinese, though we cann[illegible] cient writers pronounced the word[illegible] ch the signs represent. This persist[illegible] amidst a flux and diversity of speech made for the preservation of Chinese thought and culture. . . . The character of Chinese civilization [as found in modern Taiwan] is symbolized in this phenomenon of its unique script: its unity amid diversity and growth, its profound conservatism and universal continuity (p. 732).

Many have dreamed of a world language that would not infringe on the national preference, that would be free from verbalness, "capable, therefore, of expressing the ideas of different peoples in identical and mutually intelligible ways. But precisely such a sign language, uniting a hundred generations and a quarter of the earth's inhabitants, already exists in the Far East" (Durant, p. 733). And this language, which we in the West find so difficult to understand because of our constructs and biases, has been one key to the splendor of China's civilization in general and its educational legacy in particular.

* * * * *

> Confucius was traveling east and met two children arguing with one another. He asked them what they were arguing about, and one child said, "I say the sun is nearer to us in the morning and further away from us at noon, and he says the sun is farther away from us in the morning and nearer to us at noon." One child said, "When the sun begins to come up, it is big like a carriage cover, and at noon it is like a dinner plate. So it must be farther away when it looks smaller, and nearer us when it looks bigger." The other child said, "When the sun comes up, the air is very cool, and at noon it burns like hot soup. So it must be nearer when it is hot and farther away

when it is cool." Confucius could not decide who was right, and the children laughed at him and said, "Whoever said that you were a wise guy?" (Quoted in Lin, Yu-tang, *The Wisdom of China and India*, 1942).

Confucius, though not a man of religion, has had on a large portion of the world an influence equal to and perhaps exceeding that of Jesus, Buddha, and Mohammed combined. We know a good deal about this man who lived from 551-479 B.C.; in fact, he is probably the most studied person in the history of humankind.

His life is not dissimilar from many others of the age in which he lived; therefore, reviewing his poor family status and the relationship he had with his mother (she was unwed and his 70-year-old father died when he was three) and his peers is of little consequence in studying this historical giant. The most notable aspect of his life and his ideas is that they are devoid of religiosity; Confucius and Confucianism are part of the historical and educational legacy of China and not part of that civilization's complex religious history.

Confucianism can best be defined as humanism; that is, that the pedagogical writings of Confucius as well as his other philosophical explorations concentrate on certain human values. Confucianism excludes metaphysics and concentrates on the values of human relationships. It was the sage's view that one should first be a good son or daughter, a good brother or sister, a good parent, a good friend, and an honest and humane leader, and "if you have any energy left after attending to conduct, then study books."

Confucianism consequently becomes a study of human relationships and how through proper behavior, respect, and honor these relationships can create in a society peace, harmony, and happiness. Reasonableness would be the best word to describe how Confucius would ask people to interact. Confucianism suggests that the highest goal a person can seek is to live a moral life and that all other activities are subordinate to this. And this morality that transcends all other dimensions of the human spirit can only be engendered by education and cultural awareness and by a sense of ethical guidelines learned through the cultivation of rituals, poetics, and music.

The test that Confucius would give to any society to determine whether it had reached what he would see as its highest stage of moral development is whether it produces good sons and daughters, good sibling relationships, good husbands and wives, good friends, and individuals who can understand the psychology of their associates and act in such a manner as to reduce rancor and unhappiness. All of these goals, Confucius felt, could be achieved by diligent study of those aspects of life that were themselves worthy, beautiful, and harmonious.

Confucius' ideals for life and existential man is expressed pithily and eloquently in a paragraph from his study, *The Great Learning:*

> The ancients who wished to illustrate the highest virtue throughout the empire first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their own selves. Wishing to cultivate their own selves, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things.
>
> Things being investigated, knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their own selves were cultivated. Their selves being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole empire was made tranquil and happy (Durrant, 1922, pp. 667-668).

Will Durant, who was one of the great admirers of Confucius and Confucianism, suggests that Confucius was able to focus on the essence of life and present a complete guide to behavior. As Durant states:

> The world is at war, says Confucius, because its constituent states are improperly governed; these are improperly governed because no amount of legislation can take the place of the natural social order provided by the family; the family is in

disorder, and fails to provide this natural social order, because men forget that they cannot regulate their families if they do not regulate themselves; they fail to regulate themselves because they have not rectified in their hearts, i.e., they have not cleansed their own souls of disorderly desires; their hearts are not rectified because their thinking is insincere, doing scant justice to reality and concealing rather than revealing their own natures; their thinking is insincere because they let their wishes discolor the facts and determine their conclusions, instead of seeking to extend their knowledge to the utmost by impartially investigating the nature of things. Let men seek impartial knowledge, and their thinking will become sincere; let their thoughts be sincere and their hearts will be cleansed of disorderly desires; let their hearts be so cleansed, and their own selves will be regulated; let their own selves be regulated, and their families will automatically be regulated — not by virtuous sermonizing or passionate punishments, but by the silent power of example itself; let the family be so regulated with knowledge, sincerity, and example, and it will give forth such spontaneous social order that successful government will once more be a feasible thing; let the state maintain internal justice and tranquillity, and all the world will be peaceful and happy. — It is a counsel of perfection, and forgets that man is a beast of prey; but like Christianity it offers us a goal to strike at, and a ladder to climb. It is one of the golden texts of philosophy (Durant, 1922, pp. 668-229).

Though the great sage's legacy is not as important today as it was prior to the fall of the Ching Dynasty, Chinese scholars in Taiwan still view his ideas and writings as the cornerstone of their educational system. The noted Chinese scholar Chang Chi-yun in his excellent study, *Confucius: A Modern Interpretation* (1980), states: "A firm believer in the perfectibility of man, of all men, Confucius took it upon himself to give the common people a chance to share the knowledge which until then had been a monopoly of the nobility. The Chinese people of successive ages have honored Confucius. He was 'most sagely' and deserved more than anybody else our reverence, but he was first of all 'a great synthesizer' having synthesized the cream of ancient Chinese culture and turned it into a spiritual legacy to be shared by all Chinese and mankind" (Chang, 1980, p. 1-3).

Dr. Orient Lee, one of the most prolific writers and revered scholars in modern Asia (this writer personally spent a full day in discussions with Professor Lee), offers some insights into the teaching method that Confucius developed in his private school. In Dr. Lee's book, *A Short Biography of Confucius* (1982), the author notes that Confucius as a young man had an insatiable passion for learning. He accepted the sons of ordinary people, many of whom could not afford the elite private institutions of this period, and in his back yard beneath a leafy apricot tree he gathered around him pupils for their lessons. "Neither he nor his pupils were aware they actually inaugurated the first and the greatest private school in Chinese history" (Orient Lee, 1982, p. 7). Confucius believed that a child's level of education should be attuned to his level of intellectual and physical development. Payment for the tutorial sessions was made by the students bringing with them items of exchange such as wine, silk, foodstuffs, or wood for fuel.

His curriculum consisted of the six arts: Music, mathematics, drawing, calligraphy, archery, and ethics (called *Li* and literally meaning *ritual, etiquette, and law*). As the sole teacher at this very idyllic school, Confucius taught all of the subjects himself. By his own admission he learned from his students and from his preparations for his daily sessions. When a student completed his studies he could leave and find employment or return — after experiencing the real world — for further instruction. He was an old-fashioned teacher in many ways. His students were required to respect him and he maintained a proper distance between himself and his charges. This concept of aloofness is not lost on the leaders of modern Chinese government and education. Some three thousand young men had the honor of sitting at the sage's knee; many were to distinguish themselves in government positions or in the arts. It was Confucius' view that the pedagogical process could best be accomplished by diligent and ongoing practice and repetition. "To practice without thinking is to mislead oneself. To think without practicing, on the other hand, is to plunge into peril" (Orient Lee, 1982, pp. 7-10).

It was Confucius' view that the success of a teacher and the

quality of his instruction were more related to his personal intellectual talents and moral behavior than to the intelligence of his students. Confucius, like many modern psychologists, believed that man was born with a natural goodness and only those who were unhealthy or of unsound intellectual development could not benefit directly from learning and formal schooling. The teacher's quality, therefore, is the essential element in quality education. Professor K. M. Tong suggests in his excellent book, *Educational Ideas of Confucius* (1970), the Confucian model for pedagogical excellence:

a) A teacher should always renew himself. Confucius said, "If a man keeps cherishing his old knowledge, so as continually to be acquiring new, he may be a teacher of others." So he emphasized a teacher's requirements: the silent treasuring up of knowledge; learning without satiety, and instructing others without being wearied. "Which of these things belongs to me?" Therefore one must be continually developing his knowledge anew in order to be able to teach others. A teacher who does not educate himself cannot instruct others. However, if he can only be reviewing old knowledge without increasing any new one, he is too conservative. What he can do to the high extent is nothing but transmit the ancient culture to the next generation. He is incapable and disqualified to fulfill the duty of improving civilization and innovating custom. He can by no means be a teacher because he lacks an independent point of view, and active effort to renew himself.

b) A teacher should love his students as well as their intellect. Confucius was a democratic educator. He said, "In teaching, there should be no distinction of classes." No matter what class or clan he is, whether he is rich or poor, noble or common, everyone has the same opportunity in education. "Once there was a lad of Hushang (a village in which the people were not educated), having an interview with Confucius. It was difficult to talk with the people from the village. Knowing this happening, his disciples worried and doubted. The master reminded them, "I admit people's approach to me without committing myself as to what they may do when they have retired. Why must one be so severe? If a man purify himself to wait upon me, I receive him so that if one who has good intention comes to ask for something, we should receive him without worrying about

his past conduct, and at the same time we should not interfere with what he is going to do in the future. This is the manner of a sage and also the manner of an ideal teacher.

Confucius was the first philosopher in China who explained the nature of man. However, he did not explain the difference between the good and the bad. He only pointed out, "By nature, men are nearly alike; by practice, they get to be wide apart." In other words, the differences in the character of men were chiefly owing to their habit. Nature is the same in all, though the physical organism and disposition do differ according to different individuals. Nature is the construction received by man at birth and is then still while it has not been acted on by external environment, then practice forms, as it were, a second nature. He who practices what is not good, becomes the mean man, and he who practices what is good, becomes the superior man. In this connection we should be careful in selecting either friends or neighbors for the influence of environment is very strong (pp.80-81).

By the end of his career as a teacher Confucius had expanded his lessons beyond the original six to include such subjects as history, literature, and political economy.

A man of simple wants and needs, his brilliance and charisma has passed from his original three thousand students to all peoples of the Orient, and today Confucius' ideas remain in the minds of most intellectuals in East Asia as the most important philosophical and pedagogical propositions of all time.

In conclusion, one can suggest that the legacy of Confucius remains with the people of Taiwan today. Their educational institutions, though not stressing Confucianism as a major part of the curriculum, are in fact products of a society that is molded and tempered by the sage's moral and ethical teachings. Confucianism is so ingrained in the mind-set of China that most Chinese probably do not realize that their every action and thought have been influenced by this greatest of men who lived almost 2,500 years ago. The scholar K. M. Tong has correctly stated in his scholarly book:

Confucian thought was a basic concomitant of Chinese culture, coloring the values of nearly all fields of human en-

deavor, particularly those conceived with intellectual, social and political activities. In China, Confucianism has been a system for regulating the relations of men according to certain beliefs concerning the fundamental forces of morality . . . . the great prestige of Confucius and his teaching during the centuries immediately after his death, as well as in subsequent Chinese history, must be ascribed to three factors: the first is the intrinsic appeal of Confucian ideas to the Chinese way of thinking; the second is the historical setting of China; and the third is the evident personal charm and prestige of Confucius himself (M. K. Tong, 1970, p. 1)

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Seldom has any group of mankind been so prosperous and so nearly contented as were the Chinese under the governmental machinery when it was dominated by the ablest of civil servants and monarchs. (K. S. Latourette in *The Chinese: Their Heritage and Culture*, 1934)

In 1905 the traditional examination system of China came to an end*. By the end of the Ching Dynasty (1644-1912) China had been badly abused by most of the industrial nations of the world. Yet the open, fair, and competitive examination system that had ensured a dedicated, hard-working, and intellectual civil service system had survived virtually unaltered for nearly 1,500 years. Its strength was that it precluded nepotism and favoritism in the appointment of the highest officials of the state and assured that all officials, even at the local levels of government and education, were of a class that had worked and competed for their esteemed and revered positions. It also allowed the most humble family to hold out the hope that their son would eventuate to a position of distinction in government and/or academic life. Scholars are quick to suggest that this sense of fluidity that was engendered by the examination system may account for the relatively peaceful history of China. Europe, which is much smaller in population and territory than the Chinese civilization, has been constantly at war for the last 1,500 years. Periods of peace in Europe, even until this day, are rare. China's normal state was peace; revolution and conflict were the exception and were normally isolated to the aristocracy

*See Appendix

and also to regional outburst. The sense of fluidity that the examination created in society and the optimism that all people felt in relation to the children or relatives moving — by way of the testing process — to positions of power is one character in the longevity of China's legacy.

Weaknesses of the traditional examination system are abundant. It tended to create a reactionary point of view in that the examination system relied on memorization, recitation, and analyzation of the ancient classics. When China was confronted with challenges from the technologically superior West and Japan, the leadership in Peking and Nanking could not adequately respond. A second major criticism of the examination system was that it tended to favor children and men of money. To devote ten, twenty, or even thirty years to study and rote learning required a man to have the financial backing that would preclude his need to work in the marketplace or in the fields. Consequently, the examination system tended to favor the middle and upper classes. In numerous cases, however, a poor but brilliant youngster would be supported by his community with the hope that this investment would be returned many-fold when the scholar-examinee achieved his success. Another problem of the examination system was that such great importance was placed on it as a means of upward mobility that every conceivable method to "beat the system" was employed by the Chinese student-scholar. We in education today lament the many attempts that students make to cheat; one can only imagine the ingenuity that an examination system like the one in traditional China would foster. Surrogate examinees, payment of officials, using old essays, invisible ink — all are part of the recorded history of the examination system. These problems and inconsistencies were the exception. For some 1,500 years the competitive government-sponsored examination system functioned remarkably well in ensuring scholarly officials and distinguished academicians and intellectuals. The legacy of the examination system can be seen in mouern Taiwan where great stress is placed on testing as a means to get into the academic and vocational high schools, and particularly as an avenue of admission to tertiary education. Problems still exist, but it is this writer's view that no better

system has yet been devised by humankind to achieve the aims of an open, ethical, and fluid educational system. Thomas Jefferson, one of America's most distinguished presidents and no doubt the most scholarly, presented in his writings on education a theoretical system that if enacted would have resembled surprisingly closely the Chinese competitive examination and education system. The legacy of the open examination lives today in Taiwan. The remainder of this section will be devoted to a brief history of that system and also a review of how it functions in modern Taiwan as a vehicle for admission into the higher levels of academe.

Two of the most authoritative books on the subject, written in English, are Ichisada Miyazaki, *China's Examination Hell: The Civil Service Examination System of Imperial China* (1963, 1976) (translated from Japanese), and Wolfgang Franke, *The Reform and Abolition of the Traditional Chinese Examination System* (1960), (written when the author and his Chinese wife were Visiting Fellows at Harvard). Numerous other studies have been done; most, however, are in Chinese or Japanese. Because of the succinctness and felicity of the aforementioned books they will form the base for much of the remainder of this section on one of China's main educational legacies.

The genesis of the examination system can be traced to the Han Dynasty (201 B.C-8 A.D.) when, due to a collapse in the central authority of the Emperor, an attempt was made by the imperial house to regain control of the society. The Emperor requested that the feudal princes who had titular control over the vast provinces of China send men of quality to the court to be appointed as civil servants. These men, in the latter part of the Han, would compete with each other, through tests of various sorts, for the better positions in the government. It was during the Han also that the Confucian classics were first used as the device to test aspiring young civil servants. The scholar-official would be responsible to the Emperor for his appointment. A two-way control system was established: the Emperor could count on the appointees to be loyal to him; the scholar-official was indebted to the Emperor for the distinguished appointment he was offered.

Perhaps the main reasons that the Confucian texts were

used as the device to examine aspirants were that they were so widespread and accessible and that their ideology of respect for relationships and their agenda for eliminating rancor in society were well in tune with the wishes of the sovereign. Admittedly they are also of great philosophical, intellectual, sociological, and ethical depth and no better scholarship was then — or for that matter, is now — available for the instruction of the young in proper, respectful, and moral behavior.

Probably the main rationale for the success and longevity of the examination system was that it placed serious and necessary constraints on the powerful and often highly independent aristocracy that had carved out and ruled large portions of China. The examination was an excellent and popular method during the Han and Liu periods for the Emperor to maintain loyalty in his government officials; it was equally favored by the lower classes who saw it as the only way for their progeny to move into a realm previously the exclusive purview of the nepotistic aristocracy. Public opinion in a nation as large and populous as China can be the sole factor in the survival of a political system, and the Chinese in these early days of their history (and in Taiwan today) see the open examination as a vehicle for social and economic mobility as well as a means of limiting the corruption that is usually associated with inbred aristocratical leadership.

Much of the history of the examination system in China is the story of the literati who have succeeded in their studies and thence received positions of power and esteem from the central government and the challenge to this group by those favoring the concept of inherited positions and titles. Viewing the totality of Chinese civilization by way of the examination, Bertrand Russell in *The Problem of China* (1922) states: "Among its good effects were: a widely diffused respect for learning; the possibility of doing without the hereditary aristocrat; the selection of scholars and administrators who must . . . have been capable of [great] understanding; the preservation of Chinese civilization in spite of barbarian conquest" (pp. 46-47). It was no small legacy that those thinkers in the Han Dynasty set out to create when they initiated what was to be the prototype of the examination system!

It was during the Tang Dynasty (618-907) that the examina-

tion procedures were to develop into the configuration that survived essentially unaltered until the 20th century. Passing a series of local and regional examinations and the national examination would entitle one to the title of *Chin-Shih*. The best definition for this Chinese term is "Presented-Scholar" or a person who, by passing through the system of academe-ocracy, was presented to the Emperor who then bestowed upon him the degree of *Chin-Shih*. As the scholar moved up the examination procedure, which during the Tang was related to the Confucian doctrine, his chances of success diminished. Only one out of perhaps two to five hundred candidates would receive each year the *Chin-Shih;* some three thousand might sit for it.

The examinations consisted of an elucidation of the Confucian classics, composing a piece of original poetry, dissertation, and a free discussion on ethics, politics, and historical subjects. Law, calligraphy, and mathematics were later to be added to the examination process. The whole system was placed under the Board of Rites which had succeeded the aristocratic Board of Civil Appointments in 736. The Board of Rites, which was disbanded in the Ching period, still has many of its legitimate functions carried out in modern Taiwan by the Examination Yuan, one of the important branches of modern Chinese government.

During the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) the process begun in the Han and sophisticated in the Tang reached its fullest level of success. In the Sung the procedure for giving the main examination each three years was developed. Another important change made in this dynasty was that the paramount exam became the one given at the Palace. Consequently, the Emperor (not the examiners or scholars) became the institution that made the final determination as to who would become a Presented-Scholar. The Sung also saw the examination as the almost exclusive way for a person to get a position in government, to acquire wealth and power, and to have prestige. No one, irrespective of his ancestry, could eventuate to a position of influence without successfully fulfilling the demands of the testing procedure. Books became readily available to the populace at large, due the the invention of movable type, and in theory anyone, with few exceptions

(e.g. sons of prostitutes, actors, insurrectionists), had the right to sit for the examination. However, as previously was mentioned, only those who could garner financial support to allow them the free time to study could, in fact, prepare for and take the tests. E. A. Krackle suggests in his study, "Family vs. Merit" (1957), that "unless we find other and more convincing evidence to the contrary, we must accept the conclusion that the examination of this period regularly served to recruit into the governmental service a very significant proportion of new blood."

Two models tended to ensure that there would be fairness and impartiality in the examination system during the Sung and after: (1) The name of the candidate was never revealed to the readers of the examination papers (an elaborate number system was used); and (2) the "palace examination" was instituted and the Emperor, supposedly neutral, would review and award the highest degrees. If a large number of offspring of the aristocracy were presented, the Emperor could determine if these men had actually earned the Chin-Shih or had used influence to reach this place in their careers.

Though the Sung regime best exemplified the selection process that came from the competitive examination, the Ming (1368-1662) and the Ching (1644-1912) Dynasties also relied on it to select leaders of the society. The Ching was Manchurian and was viewed, of course, as foreign; yet to have a stable and continuous civilization they, like the Yuan Dynasty of Mongolia, relied on the examination system for the appointment of the officials of the empire.

The examination throughout China's long history has been regarded as a major event in the nation's life. Cities that for most of the year were sleepy and traditonal would burst into life when the examination was given. Major economic advantage was given to those towns and villages that housed the examination. Even today in modern Taiwan the yearly examinations are a time of preparation, tension, and great excitement. Because the examinations tested students over the same topics year after year, an unparalleled uniformity of thought was enforced not only with the officials of the state but within the mind-set of the whole leading class. As Wolfgang Franke states:

> But after Neo-Confucian interpretation of the Confucian classics was adopted as state dogma, there remained almost no opportunity for the development of original ideas, for any deviation from the orthodox interpretation led certainly to failure. In this way, particularly from the Ming dynasty on, an unparalleled uniformity of thought was enforced not only among the officials but the whole leading class. The examination system served simultaneously to recruit loyal civil servants of a standard type and to guarantee a thorough indoctrination in the Confucian ideology among the whole educated class, which on its part was the model for the whole population. For over 500 years the traditional Chinese system achieved harmoniously and smoothly, with almost no resort to force, a degree of intellectual homogeneity eagerly sought, but so far scarcely attained, by the modern authoritarian systems (p. 13).

The pedagogical process that prepared men for the examination is quite unlike what one thinks of today on hearing the words "school" or "education." Private tutors were employed. The institutions that were the "schools" for these would-be scholars were really limited to places where a person could register for the examination and perhaps get some advice on what books to read and whom he might contact for further instruction. Though these settings were government maintained, they can in no way be considered "schools" as we in the West have come to know that term. Most real education took place in private academies that were set up by communities for their sons. Formal education began when a boy was seven and would continue until he was in his forties. Instruction at the academies centered on the *Four Books* of Confucius. Memorization, repetition, and an emphasis on self and class discipline characterized these schools. The regard for proper behavior is reflected in the statement, "If education is not strict, it shows that the teacher is lazy." Not surprisingly, this view is held today by the leaders of education in modern Taiwan. Ichisada Miyazaki indicates that a student, to have been successful in his "primary education," would have had to learn 431,286 characters for that is how many inclusively are in the various standard texts. Many of these characters are repeated in texts, so it was not 431,286

different ideographs; still these had to be committed to memory, and the length of time to do this was six years. Two hundred characters a day were required to be learned if a child was to keep pace with his classmates. Only the most hardy of body and mind could maintain this pace, and a Darwinian view of education — only the most fit shall survive and rule — cannot be disregarded when one looks at traditional Chinese education and examinations.

In summary, the Chinese examination system prior to 1905 had as its strengths the following characteristics: It was open to all qualified applicants; it was a fair system for all who were able to compete; it allowed the government of China to have persons of new ideas in leadership positions; it diminished the influence of the traditionally powerful inherited aristocracy; and it gave a sense of serene peace to even the humblest family in that they knew that their son or grandson or his sons might be a great leader if he applied himself to his studies.

The legacy of the traditional examination system can be seen in modern education practices today in Taiwan.

Since 1954 students who wished to move into colleges and universities in Taiwan's higher educational system have had to sit for the national Joint College Entrance Examination (JCEE) which is given each summer. Further, for the ninth grade student to matriculate to the academic high school, vocational school, or normal junior college, a similar examination, also under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and the Provincial Department of Education, must be successfully passed.

To suggest that modern Taiwan represents a continuous history of the Han-initiated examination is taking the proposition further than historical evidence allows. One can suggest, however, that the "concept" of an open, free, and competitive examination practice is a legacy that, beginning in the Han and Tang Dynasties, is still alive and well in Chinese education in Formosa.

The current JCEE — which this writer was told will be significantly revised in 1985-86 — allows the graduate of the

academic high school and some few graduates from technical junior colleges to seek and compete for admission into the higher education system of Taiwan. From four academic groups, the student selects a general area of preference and also lists major subject areas he or she wishes to study. The four groups from which the student may choose are:

Group A - Natural science and engineering
Group B - Humanities, language, and literature
Group C - Biological, agricultural, and medical sciences
Group D - Social science, law, business

Besides these specific subject areas, ancillary fields are also tested on the examinations. These include Chinese, English, philosophy, mathematics, history, geography, chemistry, physics, and biology. The emphasis placed on these secondary areas depends on the major field a student has selected.

The student also indicates on the test application form the colleges that he or she wishes to attend (National Taiwan University, Chengchi University, National Normal University, Tunghai University, and so forth). Only the students with the very highest scores on their examinations are given their first choice of a field of study and the college of their choice. The others are given their second choice in college and/or subject, and this process continues until all of the places available for freshman and transfer students at all of the colleges on the island are filled for the forthcoming school year. The exam may be repeated; students may take a second exam for admission to one of the evening B.A. degree-granting programs that now abound throughout the island. All of these programs, day and evening, are under the watchful eye of the Ministry of Education, as is the regular Joint College Entrance Examination.

In 1981-82 approximately 98,000 students sat for the JCEE; approximately 27 percent were admitted to one of the colleges or universities in Taiwan. Many students who do not pass the examination try for admission into the two or three institutions that are tertiary in nature. An examination is also required for this phase in one's education. Approximately 10,000 students fell into this latter category out of 40,000 applicants in 1980-81. Stated succinctly, competition for admission to a university is demanding and selective.

The major complaints that have been expressed about the JCEE system since its inception in 1954 are summarized by Professor Jo Ann Lee in her work, "A Comparative Study of the Chinese and American [California] Higher Educational Systems" (1982). Professor Lee has relied on information and research materials developed by Dr. Chien-hou Huang and also the study, "Sino-American Seminars on Higher Education" (National Taiwan Normal University, 1980).

1. Of the approximately 100,000 students who sit for the examination each year, only about 25 percent are admitted to the country's 26 four-year colleges and universities as day students. The remaining 75 percent of the applicants must be relegated to the evening schools at these four-year institutions or to the junior colleges.
2. The various components of the JCEE are essentially achievement tests based on instruction within the educational system in previous years; such tests have not been standardized.
3. Teachers at the senior high schools are teaching for the examination rather than teaching according to the guidelines established.
4. Although students may be fortunate enough to be admitted to schools of their choosing, many are not admitted to the departments of their top preference. This situation is due partly to the students, who feel that by listing several departments on their applications they will have a better chance of gaining admission *somewhere* to study *something*.
5. Students report that even though they were admitted to the department and the school of their choice, they soon realize that the subject area was not what they expected it to be or that the subject area of study was not suited to them. There appears to be a lack of proper counseling, guidance, and/or aptitude testing to enable students to make appropriate choices of majors and careers.
6. Once a student has been admitted to a particular department within an institution, he or she is expected to pursue the prescribed course of study. A student wishing to change majors and transfer to another department must do so after having his or her college entrance examination score reviewed by officials of the Ministry of Education.
7. If graduates of three-year junior colleges want to transfer to a four-year university or college, they are required to drop

back one to two years when admitted to the higher institution. If the university has a similar department and curriculum from which the junior college student graduated, the student drops back only one year; where there is no similar departmental or curricular offering, the student drops back two years. The intent of this process is to require that the student enter a class at his or her own level, to fulfill prerequisite courses that other students in that same department are currently taking (J. A. Lee, 1982, pp. 71-74).

A review of both the classical and modern examination process that has been (and remains) at the heart of all Chinese education suggests that this concept has survived in spirit and fact because it has served the civilization of Cathay so admirably. Changes and modificatons have been part of the process since the Han period; yet the essential dynamic of the examination and its *raison d'etre* have remained as one of the consistent institutions of this most splendid civilization. "By this system," states Will Durant, "the national mind and ambition were turned in the direction of study, and the national heroes and models were men of culture rather than masters of wealth" (p. 802). (See Chart, p. 44.)

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By building the house on a sound foundation the world is made secure.

—Confucius

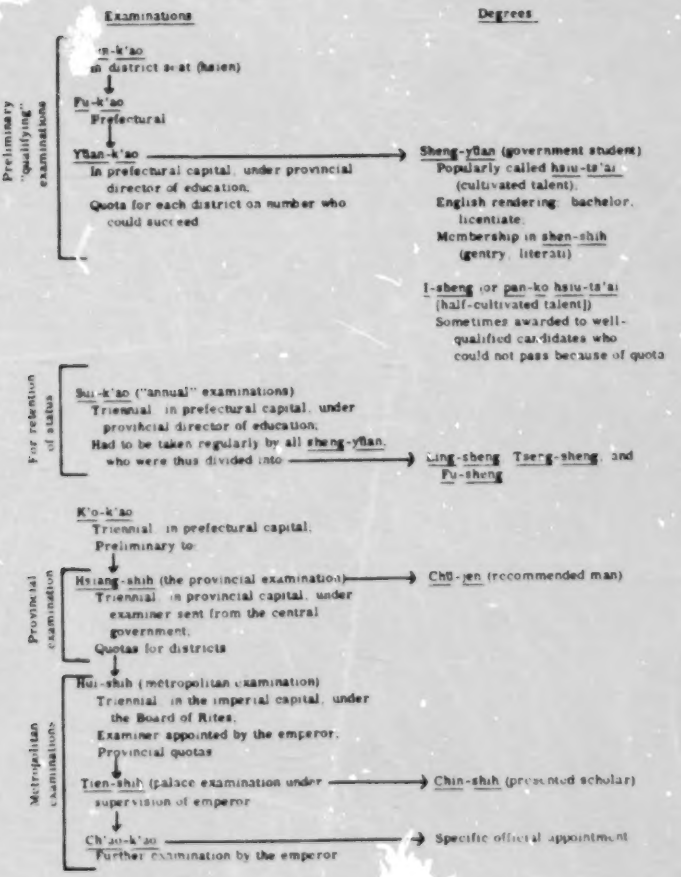
What the Chinese best know, cultivate the most and have brought the greatest perfection is morality.

—Voltaire

Family life and the concept of centralization are interwoven into the fabric of Chinese history, life, and education. Though these two characteristics that have dominated Chinese history for thousands of years are not unique to Sinica, they have individually and co-supportively played a larger part in that nation's protracted civilization than any other nation's.

Family life is the central institution for all that happened in traditional China; it continues to play a major role in the life of modern Taiwan's people and interacts directly with the

A SIMPLIFIED CHART OF THE MING AND CH'ING EXAMINATION SYSTEM


Examinations
Degrees
Preliminary "qualifying" examinations
...n-k'ao
...n district seat (hsien)
Fu-k'ao
Prefectural
Yüan-k'ao
In prefectural capital, under provincial director of education.
Quota for each district on number who could succeed
Sheng-yüan (government student)
Popularly called hsiu-ts'ai (cultivated talent).
English rendering: bachelor, licentiate.
Membership in shen-shih (gentry, literati)
I-sheng (or pan-ko hsiu-ts'ai (half-cultivated talent))
Sometimes awarded to well-qualified candidates who could not pass because of quota
For retention of status
Sui-k'ao ("annual" examinations)
Triennial, in prefectural capital, under provincial director of education;
Had to be taken regularly by all sheng-yüan, who were thus divided into
Ling-sheng, Tseng-sheng, and Fu-sheng
K'o-k'ao
Triennial, in prefectural capital.
Preliminary to:
Provincial examination
Hsiang-shih (the provincial examination)
Chü-jen (recommended man)
Triennial, in provincial capital, under examiner sent from the central government.
Quotas for districts
Metropolitan examinations
Hui-shih (metropolitan examination)
Triennial, in the imperial capital, under the Board of Rites.
Examiner appointed by the emperor.
Provincial quotas
T'ien-shih (palace examination under supervision of emperor
Chin-shih (presented scholar)
Ch'ao-k'ao
Further examination by the emperor
Specific official appointment

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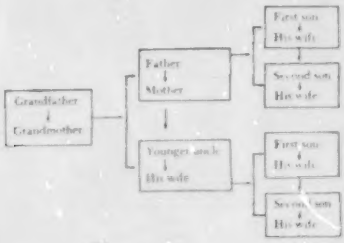
educative processes of the island society. Though the traditional extended family in which many generations would live in the same home or compound has disappeared from most of the Taiwan landscape, the concept and the influence of "family" remain a dominant factor in social and economic vitality. Nucleus family models — where a husband, wife and children (average three in Taiwan) live in the one domicile — are now very common. Only on the larger farms in the beautiful countryside of Taiwan can one find grandparents, parents, uncles and aunts, children and their spouses, and grandchildren living in the same large U-shaped, single-level home. Urbanization and industrialization have led to two dynamic qualities that have slowly eroded the extended family — fewer children generally are born to urban families, and industrialization has tended to give younger persons greater economic independence and, as a consequence, less eagerness to remain under the watchful eye of their parents or grandparents.

Traditionally the senior male of the family, if his health allowed, would rule the household till his death. He would be followed by de facto rule of his wife; real power would, however, go to the next oldest male, usually the first son. Children, because of economic dependence, the honor of the family name, and the Confucian ideal of reverence to one's elders and of one's ancestors (filial piety), would remain part of the surname structure and take their place in the elaborate schemata that characterized the Chinese family constellation. The chart below is a generalization of the family structure of traditional China and rural life in Taiwan:



(Dun J. Li, 1978, p. 359)

In recent years micro-analytical sociological studies of the Chinese family have focused on the various esoteric relations usually found in the Taiwan countryside. Generalizations are seldom made and the research done is normally so stylistically convoluted and steeped in sociological jargon as to make the end product essentially useless. Yet from these pedantic works on Chinese family life, most of which were written in the 1960's and 70's, one can draw some broad conclusions that give meaning to the nature of the modern Chinese family in Taiwan and its influence on childhood and education.

Structural relationships and authority are the recurring themes in the Chinese nucleus and extended or "grand" family. Yet these are only a microcosm for a more broadly based set of interpersonal interactions and constellations. Traditional China held that the father-son dominant-subservient relation was of paramount importance but also four cardinal relationships among men must exist: The Emperor and his subjects, husband and wife, older and younger siblings, and friend and friend. Sub-relationships that the Confucian ethic emphasized were older and younger, teacher and pupil, gentry and peasant, and educated and illiterate. Unlike the European and Japanese models in which the king or emperor was absolute and thought to rule by heavenly decree for life,the Chinese always held a move utilitarian and democratic vision of their king. This quote written by the eminent Professor James Legge, known best for his translations of the *Analects*, perhaps illustrates the relative position of the king and his subjects. Extrapolation would suggest that the philosophy expressed here was pervasive in most Chinese relationships save the sacrosanct one between father and son.

> The Emperor has been uniformly regarded as the son of God by adoption only, and liable to be displaced from that position as a punishment for the offence of misrule. . . . If the ruler failed in his duties, the obligation of the people was at an end, and his divine right disappeared simultaneously. Of this we have an example in a portion of the Canon to be examined by and by. Under the year 558 B.C. we find the following narrative. One of the feudal princes asked an official, saying, "Have not the people of the Wei State done very wrong in expelling their ruler?" "Perhaps the ruler himself," was the reply, "may

have done very wrong. . . .If the life of the people is impoverished, and if the spirits are deprived of their sacrifices, of what use is the ruler, and what can the people do but get rid of him?" (Russell, 1922, p. 59)

There were many advantages to the extended traditional Chinese family. Perhaps the one of most impact was that it created in all members a sense of belonging to a permanent reference group with which they had common goals and aspiration. This psychological dimension has been lost to many of the peoples of China now that single nucleus family life is becoming more the norm. Advantages for education were also pronounced — to enable a bright young man the time and leisure to study for the national examinations that were required for entry into the upper levels of power, a financial support system had to be developed and maintained. The traditional Chinese family, with resources spanning two or three generation and monies centralized in the hands of the senior man or woman, could select the child with greatest potential in academics and, by pooling the family's fortune, ensure him the opportunity to become part of the intelligentsia.

Weaknesses in the traditional family also existed. If a father was unkind this could not be held in check; the wife was often treated scrofulously by the mother- and grandmother-in-law; and young couples had little or no opportunity to choose the lifestyle they wanted. It might be mentioned that until recently marriages were arranged by the families involved, and the two prized commodities sought by in-laws were a family's high economic status and its educational level.

In modern Taiwan, as was the case in traditional dynastic China, the family's reason for being is in the children. Sons have always been more sought than daughters, though today this is much less the case. The logic behind this was essentially economic — a son could carry on the family name, inherit the household, and, most importantly, assure a life of comfort for his parents in their old age. Girls seldom had these prerogatives.

Yet all children were and are loved. No statistical informa-

tion exists, but history suggests that the children of China have always held a much more important place in the family configuration than in the world's other highly sophisticated societies. Even today as one walks the streets of Taipei, Kaohsiung, and the other cities of Taiwan, one senses, on observing parent-child interaction, a closeness and love that families in the West often do not experience. Seldom is discipline necessary in the Chinese household; the parents seem able to set role-models for their children at a very young age and the youngsters respond in a most positive and pleasing manner. The Chinese children in Taiwan do not fear their parents; they do revere and respect them greatly and try to please them, particularly in their academic achievements as well as in music, dance, and sports. A Chinese father and mother have no greater pleasure in life than to see their son or daughter succeed in school and be admitted to a good university and career. One might speculate that a child will often subconsciously act out his parents' expectation and values. The children of China exemplify this phenomenon. Other signs of this quality are in toilet training. All children are trained by their first year. Accidents occur and parents do not treat these as failures. Children are, however, expected to be toilet trained at a very young age. A further point is that in most families in Taiwan it is not unusual for a child of up to four to sleep in his parents' bed. Though this is frowned upon in the West, it appears to create a close-knit family unit. The Chinese simply do not think it is proper to put the infant in a barred cage (in the West we have developed the euphemism, "crib," for this device).

Recent years have seen numerous changes come to the Chinese family in Taiwan. The father's authority has declined and now is seen as more moderate and reasonable. Yet, as Robert M. Marsh has observed in his important study, "The Taiwanese of Taipei," published in the *Journal of Asian Studies* (1968), the married couples of Taiwan are more eager, willing, and less resentful in giving their parents a home and other financial assistance than in other developed nations of the world. They are also more inclined to request that their parents live with them and help with the child-rearing process. Conversely, parents are more likely to give continued finan-

cial aid to their children even after they are married and have completed their education. Unmarried children, irrespective of age, continue to live at home. There also appears to be a desire to maintain the traditions of a family such as ancestor worship and the signs of respect accorded older members of the bloodline and at the same time future and present-orientedness (not past-oriented as in traditional Confucian society) (Marsh, 1968, pp. 570-585).

Whether a society as dynamic as modern Formosa can have the best of both worlds — orderliness and traditions within the family configuration and at the same time economic development, social mobility, world inter-relatedness, and rapid academic climbing — is impossible to presage. The social anomalies related to youth that plague America, Western Europe, Hong Kong, and Japan may find their way into Taiwan and have a potentially deleterious effect on that society's amazing growth and development. Perhaps, though, the four thousand years of Chinese history which has culminated in the society that now exists in Taiwan will preclude changes that will threaten the better traditions and values of Chinese life.

* * * * *

As with family life, the tradition of centralization is a major part of Chinese society and the educational process. Language, the traditional and modern examination system, the views of Confucianism, and the Chinese family with its pyramidal structure all reflect the emphasis that China places on centralization. America prides itself on being highly decentralized, and American history for the last two hundred years suggests that in our highly heterogeneous society this model has worked. In the homogeneous civilization of China centralization of all institutions has been the pattern that has proven most successful.

Education in modern Taiwan is a highly centralized institution. The Constitution of the Republic of China (1946) makes it clear that education is of such great importance to the nation that it is placed under the central government and also funded from the nation's broad-based tax structure. Those sections related to education state:

Article 158 Education and culture shall aim at the development among the citizens, of the national spirit of self-government, national morality, a healthy physique, scientific knowledge, and the ability to earn a living.

Article 159 All citizens shall have an equal opportunity to receive education.

Article 160 All children of school age from six to twelve years shall receive free elementary education. Those from poor families shall be supplied with books by the Government. All citizens above school age who have not received elementary education shall receive supplementary education free of charge and shall also be supplied with books by the Government.

Article 161 The various levels of government shall provide a large number of scholarships to assist students of good scholastic standing and exemplary conduct who lack the means to continue their school education.

Article 162 All public and private educational and cultural institutions in the country shall, in accordance with law, be subject to State supervision.

Article 163 The State shall pay due attention to the balanced development of education in different regions and shall provide social education to elevate the cultural standards of the citizens in general. Grants from the National Treasury shall be made to frontier regions and economically poor areas to help them meet their educational and cultural expenses. The Central Government may either itself undertake the more important education and cultural enterprises in such regions and areas or render them financial assistance.

Article 164 Funds earmarked for education, science, and culture shall be, in respect of the Central Government, not less than fifteen percent of the total national budget; in respect of the Provincial Government, not less than twenty-five percent of the total Provincial budget; and in respect of the Municipal or County Government, not less than thirty-five percent of the total Municipal or County budget. Educational and cultural foundations established in accordance with law, and their property, shall be protected.

Article 165 The State shall safeguard the livelihoood of education, scientific, and artistic workers and shall, as the national economy develops, increase their remuneration from time to time.

Article 166 The State shall encourage scientific discoveries and inventions and shall protect ancient monuments and ancient relics of historical, cultural, or artistic value.

Article 167 The State shall encourage or subsidize the following enterprises or individuals:

1. Private educational enterprises with outstanding records.
2. Overseas Chinese educational enterprises with outstanding records.
3. Individuals who have made scholarly or technical invention.
4. Educational workers who have rendered long meritorious services.

The very fact that the nation's Constitution, which is the highest law of the land, institutionalizes the educational system under central authority and guarantees to the citizens of China basic educational equality and access is indicative of the importance the concept of centralization of schools is to the nation.

Reviewing the powers and prerogatives of the Ministry of Education and other government offices also gives credence to the concept of centralization as a major force in Chinese educational life.

According to Chapter 10 of the Chinese Constitution on "Powers of the Central and Local Governments," the Central Government has the power of legislation and administration of national education or it may delegate the power of administration to the provincial and county/city governments. The provincial government in turn has the power of legislation and administration of provincial education or may delegate the power of administration to the county government. County government has the power of legislation and administration of county education. Thus, the Chinese educational administrative system is divided into three levels. In the Central Government, there is the Ministry of Education. Each province has a Department of Education and a Special Municipality has a Bureau of Education. Each county/city has a Division/Bureau of Education. Following are their functions:

1. Ministry of Education:
   a. In charge of administrative matters on academic work, culture, and education of the nation.
   b. To instruct and supervise top local administrative officers regarding the execution of the powers delegated by the Ministry.
   c. Suspend or nullify the orders or directions of top local administrative officers, after the approval of the Executive Yuan (Cabinet), if the Ministry believes those are contrary to laws or regulations, or beyond their powers.

2. Provincial Department of Education/Bureau of Education in a Special Municipality:
   a. Matters on provincial/special municipal school education.
   b. Matters on provincial/special municipal social education.
   c. Matters on the supervision of the work and aim of educational and academic bodies in the province/special municipality.
   d. Matters on the planning and administration of library, museum, and stadium in the province/special municipality.
   e. Matters on other educational administration affairs in the province/special municipality.

3. County/City Division/Bureau of Education:
   a. Matters on county/city school education.
   b. Matters on the planning and administration of library, museum, and stadium in county/city.
   c. Matters on other cultural and social education affairs in county/city.

The Minister of Education takes overall charge of the matters of the Ministry. He is assisted by one political vice-minister and two administrative vice-ministers. In the Ministry, there are seven departments, five bureaus, four offices, and various committees to handle the planning and supervision of educational administrative matters. Altogether, the ministry has set up eight committees responsible for the discussion of educational administrative matters and offering suggestions and recommendations. Under the Ministry,

there are seven institutions and one research institute to handle matters respectively pertaining to the promotion and guidance of cultural activities, the compilation and screening of textbooks and other publications, the collection and exhibition of cultural objects and books, the collection and demonstration of scientific teaching aids, and the research and improvement of Chinese medicine. Fourteen national universities, colleges, seven junior colleges and five experimental schools were directly under the jurisdiction of the Ministry in 1981. Cultural affairs offices are sent to overseas areas. They are attached to the Chinese embassies to handle liaison and cooperation of international cultural and educational matters and to offer guidance to Chinese students studying abroad. The Chinese Boy Scout General Association is directly under the Ministry.

The Commissioner of Education of Taiwan Province is responsible for all affairs of the Department with a Deputy Commissioner to help him. Under the Department, there are six divisions, and five offices to handle the promotion and supervision of educational matters in the Province; four institutions, one stadium, one symphony orchestra, one bookstore, taking care respectively of the collection and exhibition of cultural objects and publications, the promotion of social activities, the printing of textbooks, and the in-service training of elementary school teachers. There were nine junior colleges in 1982, 139 secondary schools, eight experimental elementary schools, 61 supplementary schools, and five special schools under the jurisdiction of the Department in 1981. The Director of the Municipal Bureau of Education is in charge of Bureau affairs with a Deputy Director to help him. There are five divisions, five offices, and one committee in the Bureau to take care of the promotion and supervision of educational affairs in the City. Under the Bureau there are libraries and institutions to handle the collection and exhibition of books and social educational agenda.

The Director of County/City Bureau of Education of Taiwan Province takes charge of all matters pertaining to the Bureau, assisted by a secretary. Under the Bureau there are five sections and several inspectors to handle the promotion and supervision of county educational activities.

The source for the above outline of duties, relationships, and responsibilities is the booklet, "Education in the Republic of China, 1981" (Ministry of Education, Taipei, 1982, pp. 12-18).

With this sophisticated centralized management and administrative system, the values of Chinese civilization and history, the high ideals expressed in the Constitution of 1947, and the attitude that the people of Taiwan hold toward the need for centralization of their government structure are being realized.

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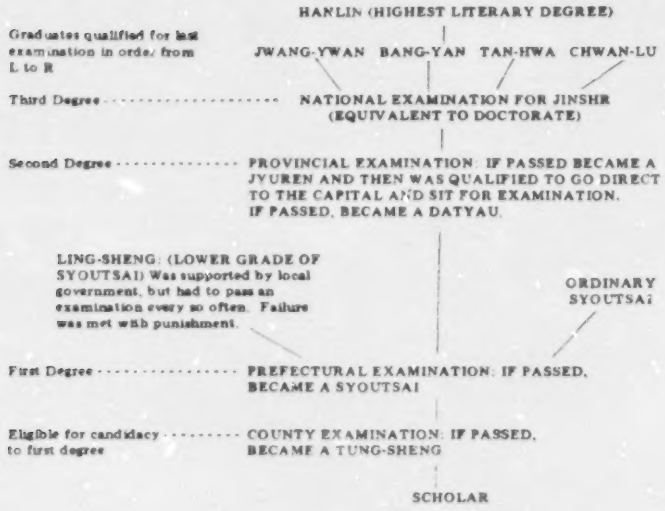
CHINESE TRADITIONAL EDUCATION AND EXAMINATION SYSTEMS


HANLIN (HIGHEST LITERARY DEGREE)
Graduates qualified for last examination in order from L to R
JWANG-YWAN BANG-YAN TAN-HWA CHWAN-LU
Third Degree
NATIONAL EXAMINATION FOR JINSHR (EQUIVALENT TO DOCTORATE)
Second Degree
PROVINCIAL EXAMINATION: IF PASSED BECAME A JYUREN AND THEN WAS QUALIFIED TO GO DIRECT TO THE CAPITAL AND SIT FOR EXAMINATION. IF PASSED, BECAME A DATYAU.
LING-SHENG: (LOWER GRADE OF SYOUTSAI) Was supported by local government, but had to pass an examination every so often. Failure was met with punishment.
ORDINARY SYOUTSAI
First Degree
PREFECTURAL EXAMINATION: IF PASSED, BECAME A SYOUTSAI
Eligible for candidacy to first degree
COUNTY EXAMINATION: IF PASSED, BECAME A TUNG-SHENG
SCHOLAR

SOCIAL POSITION

Scholars are the highest — Farmers are second
Workers are third — Merchants are lowest

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CLASSICAL HIERARCHICAL SYSTEM OF CHINA

教師

Chapter 3

PEDAGOGICS
Pre-service Elementary Teacher Education in Taiwan

Few nations have such faith in learning or are so imbued with the concept of academeocracy* as is modern-day Taiwan. European rigor, American teaching methodology, and Chinese moral philosophy sum up the process that the would-be teacher faces on his or her road to a career in the public or private school system of the Island China. Few societies have had as much faith in learning and the educative system as a conduit to success; no other people, with the possible exception of the Israelis and the Japanese, believe so deeply that a direct relationship exists between one's personal well-being, the success of a society, and the school system.

Perhaps we can find in the word for *teacher* a hint as to why schooling plays such a major role in the lives of the people of China. The two characters that form this compound are *lao* and *shih*. Literal translation of these two ideographs recalls the role that the leaders or elders of the clan or community played in working with the youngster. We find that *lao-shih* refers to "older persons teaching in a residential setting" or "a home for elders to teach." In ancient China, when the anthropological genesis of education can only be guessed at, it is assumed that the senior members of the community who had proved themselves to possess the highest intellectual skills, and also having shown themselves of distinct ethical quality, were given the opportunity to gather young men in

*A social system that emphasizes academic achievement as the means of personal upward mobility and societal development.

their homes and teach them the mores, folkways, skills, crafts, and ideals of their small society. In most ancient societies it was the mission of the old men who themselves had lived distinctive and worthy lives to be rendered the privilege of leading boys through the necessary steps to play a meaningful role in the society. Though China has changed much through the millennia, the charge of the teacher remains essentially the same: (1) To educate youngsters in the skills of the society necessary for the nation's development and prosperity as well as for their own personal well-being; and (2) to nurture and inculcate in them the proper moral, ethical, and humanistic values that have endured and made Chinese history so splendid.

In modern Taiwan, schools are the institutions that have this important and essential responsibility, and the teachers and administrators of those schools — depending on their own moral and intellectual development — mirror how successful will be this process.

The remainder of this book will be devoted to the education of teachers in contemporary Taiwan. It in no way is a definitive study; rather, through interviews with leading educators in Taiwan and through reading the literature on teacher education (most of which was in Chinese and was subsequently translated for me into English), this researcher hopes to narrate and assay the "normal education" system as it now exists. To be *objective* is quite impossible when studying a human-intensive situation. Every effort has been made, however, to present an honest review, assessment, and appraisal of teacher training in the modern Taiwan setting.

Because this research effort is transcultural and multi-analytical in nature, certain terms that appear with regularity in the literature used but which are relatively unique to the nomenclature of American education research must be defined. The excellent scholarship of Dr. Ping-Huang Huang presents clear definitions of a number of terms that are used in this study:

Definition of Terms

Normal education - those programs that train teachers.
Pre-service program - refers to the studies offered in the col-

lege program prior to full-time employment. In America these are referred to as "teacher education programs."

Elementary education - refers to the program of education in grades one through six in both the public and the private schools.

Taiwan (Formosa) - is a province of China. It has a population of 18 million and an area of 35,961 square kilometers, with 394 kilometers in length and 144 kilometers in breadth at the widest points.

Junior Teachers College - refers to the teacher education institution at the junior college level in Taiwan which provides both pre-service and in-service education for elementary school teachers. The program is five years in length.

College supervisor - refers to a staff member of the college who is directly responsible for working with student teachers.

Professional sequence - refers to the specific, formal courses and planned experience opportunities which relate directly to the student's acquisition of (1) knowledge about, (2) skill in, (3) desired attitudes concerning teaching and the role and tasks of the elementary school teacher. In this study the terms *professional sequence* and *professional education* are used synonymously, and, as such, are interchangeable. Both of these terms include the scope, chronological order, and composition of the experience opportunities which have been designed to assist prospective teachers in their study of teaching.

The college's affiliated school - refers to a school which is an integral part and under the direct control of the college where student teachers do a major portion of their student teaching.

Supervising teacher - refers to a classroom teacher who guides student teachers in the affiliated school.

Cooperating school - refers to a public school not directly supported or controlled by the college, but one which cooperates in providing student teaching experiences.

Cooperating teacher - refers to a classroom teacher who guides student teachers in a cooperating school.

Student teaching - refers to the period of observation, participation, and actual teaching done by a student preparing for teaching, under the direction of a supervising teacher or cooperating teacher.

Practice teaching - refers only to those activities involved in actual teaching by the student teacher, as contrasted with student teaching, which includes observation and participation as well as practice teaching.

Student teacher - refers to a college student enrolled in a student teaching course under the guidance of a supervising teacher, college supervisor, and any other personnel involved in the supervising task.

Middle education: or junior high school - refers to grades 7-9. This is also called the "national high school."

Secondary education refers to grades 10-12, academic and vocational.

(P. H. Huang, 1970, pp. 3-5)

Two levels of pre-service teacher education exist concurrently in Taiwan. First and most unique is the five-year junior normal teachers college that is entered after completion of the ninth grade and completed in the fourteenth grade. This is for the training of teachers for grades kindergarten to six and special education teachers. A one-year mandatory pre-service student teaching experience is also required, though participants are paid for this year and have the regular duties of other teachers. The second level is for the preparation of teachers for the growing middle and secondary schools of Taiwan. Four years of study are normally required to receive the B.A. in this field, plus a a one-year pre-service student teaching experience. Again the pre-certified teacher is paid for his services. Admission to one of the three normal teachers universities or colleges is effected by passing the Joint College Entrance Examination with grades high enough to qualify for admission to one of these very prestigious institutions. In both cases, the five-year junior normal teachers college (which awards the diploma) and the regular four-year baccalaureate teachers university and college, the government subsidizes fully the tuition, fees, and miscellaneous expenses of the pre-service teacher. The graduate, however, is obligated to pay back the government for this funding by teaching in the public school system of Taiwan (at a location assigned by the Ministry of Education and the Provincial Department of Education) for a period of time equal to that which the government subsidized the student's education. All teachers upon graduating are assured jobs; careful preplanning, forecasting, and predicting of the educational environment allows the Ministry of Education (MOE) to anticipate

the number of teachers needed and the fields in which they are needed. The Joint College Entrance Examination (JCEE) and the National Junior Normal College examination are both screening devices to ensure scholarly proficiency and also serve as a channeling mechanism by which the MOE can attempt to meet the needs of Taiwan's schools in the placement of teachers and consequently the overall demands of a rapidly developing society. It must be pointed out that the art of forecasting a society's needs is, at best, pristine; certain fields have too many teachers (e.g., English, home economics) while others, such as Chinese language and literature and the sciences, are undersupplied.

Two exceptions to the general schemata above exist in Taiwan. Changchi Government University in the far suburbs of Taipei is not a teachers college. Yet it has a distinguished department of education in which half of the students receive government subsidies and must enter the field of pedagogy; the other half earn degrees in education and most go into careers in boy scouts, the China Youth Corps, extension education, and the like. The other minor exceptions to the above outline is that not all students attending the National Taiwan College of Education at Changhua are in the pre-service teachers program, but rather some are earning a degree at this teachers college for entrance into other professions. These students need not enter the teaching profession; they must, however, pay tuition for their four-year education. These schools are unique. The other nine junior normal teachers colleges and National Normal University in Taipei and National Kaohsiung Teachers College (of Kaohsiung City), as well as the preponderance of students at National Taiwan College of Education, fit into the models which will be dealt with in detail as this chapter progresses.

Professor P. A. Herbert, a Chinese scholar and professor of English at Soochow University, Taipei, suggests correctly that "there is in the education systems of all advanced civilizations a dichotomy in aims and methods which reflect two conflicting demands found in all highly developed societies." Dr. Herbert reflects that all social systems demand a certain degree of order and conformity for the maintenance of civility and law. Conversely, if a society is to advance it is necessary

that originality in technological and cultural matters be fostered. The latter of these two requirements will often go hand-in-hand with iconoclastic views and values and nonconformist thought and action (Herbert, 1982, pp. 1-5). Education systems, depending on world conditions, the national evolutionary pattern, and the immediate economic and political status of a society, will usually lay more stress on the demand for conformity or the quest for originality. In reality, the ideal balance between the two appears quixotical. Preservice teacher education in Taiwan faces this paradoxical situation. To suggest that either conformity to national prerogatives or the emphasis on originality is the sign of a higher level of education vividity is sophistry. At best we can suggest that extremism in either direction will produce undesirable results for the nation and for the civilization's future. The horrific Cultural Revolution on Mainland China and the totalitarianism of education in Nazi Germany and Fascist Japan and Italy represent the extremes of this dichotomy betwixt free expression and conformity.

Dr. Wei Fan Kou, the distinguished president of National Taiwan Normal University and author of the essay, "The Organization and Structure of Teacher Education in the Republic of China" (presented at the Twenty-Ninth International Conference on Teacher Education, July, 1982, Rome, Italy), referred to henceforth as the *Kuo Report* (1982), indicates that teaching as a career has "traditionally been considered one of the most respectable professions in China."

The teacher in Taiwan is required by tradition, training, and policy to conduct himself, in the classroom and in the community, by a distinctive *normalien* quality which emphasizes professionalism in the highest level. Pre-service teacher education in Taiwan is usually referred to as *normal education*. The term "normal school" has its roots in the French tradition of the 19th century when the *ecoles normal superieur* were established. It was then (and is in Taiwan today) expected that the normal school be a setting in which the "norm" or model for the general public can be found. As Dr. Kuo suggests, "Teacher education in Taiwan is popularly called "normal education" in its literal meaning, and teacher training institutions are termed "normal colleges" and "uni-

versities" in accordance with the social expectations demanded of these institutions to provide a working atmosphere of professionalism in view of fostering in student teachers a genuine urge to teach" (*Kuo Report*, 1982, p. 1).

The great emphasis that the Chinese place on preparation of both academically and morally qualified pedagogues is reflected in the fact that all teacher pre-service and in-service education is funded by and controlled closely by the central government via the Ministry of Education. A student graduating from a private college or university may become a teacher but not until he has also attended (for a relatively long period of time at the post-B.A. level) a regular government teacher training institution. Some 27 institutions of higher education that grant the bachelor's degree are currently found in Taiwan; three are almost exclusively for teacher training: the other schools offer undergraduate degrees in virtually all fields that would be found in the higher education system in America, England, France, Germany, or Japan. National Taiwan University is recognized as the most prestigious of these 27 institutions, but is followed closely by National Taiwan Normal University, an institution that has as its main charge the training of secondary (grades 7-12) teachers, administrators, college professors, and governmental officials involved with education, the preparation of scholarly reports, and developing new techniques for language training, special education pedagogues, and counseling methodology. It offers numerous master's degrees and also the doctorate.

The most recent statistics available suggest that there are a total of 170,334 school teachers (K-12) in Taiwan. Of this group 69,613 are working in the elementary schools of the nation, 44,796 at the junior middle high schools (referred to as National High Schools since 1968), and 13,156 are employed as senior high teachers in academic-competitive secondary schools. The Educational Statistics of the Ministry of Education (1982) also indicate that some 13,147 men and women are employed in the vocational schools, yet some of these persons may be teaching main-line academic subjects such as Chinese or mathematics. On the other hand, all academic junior and high schools have as part of the curriculum "hands-on" subjects and hence a person trained in vocational

subjects may in fact find himself in the competitive academic high school setting. These two last situations are relatively rare and do not account for more than five percent of the 27,000 teachers in the post-elementary school teaching schema.

Nine junior normal colleges are strategically located throughout Taiwan and these produce a total of 85 percent of the primary teachers in the current school system. In years to come the percentage of teachers who have passed through these five-year junior normal colleges will continue to increase. The reason for this is that, for a period of time, teachers were required to complete the academic high school prior to sitting for the admission examination to matriculate into a normal three-year teachers college. The program was then six semesters in duration and the educational leadership correctly believed that this was not long enough to inculcate the values and training so needed in teachers. In 1963 the system was radically revamped, and since the mid-1960's all teachers wishing to be part of the profession, grades 1-6, have had to enter the junior normal college upon completion of their ninth grade year. A highly competitive examination is given at that time and approximately one in fifty applicants is accepted. These are the "cream of the crop" of youngsters interested in a career as a pedagogue. Because of the teacher education configuration prior to 1963, many of the older teachers in Taiwan did not attend one of the nine junior normal colleges but were graduates of the post-secondary school three-year normal institution.

The junior normal colleges that will be addressed in greater detail as this section continues are located in the following areas and cities of Taiwan: Taipei Normal Junior College, Hsinchu Normal Junior College, Taichung Normal Junior College, Chiayi Normal Junior College, Tainan Normal Junior College, Pingtung Normal Junior College, Hwalien Normal Junior College, and Taipei Junior Normal College for For Women.

There are currently some 1,850 full-time and part-time professors at the five-year junior normal colleges and 8,660 degree students (day, evening, and summer).

* * * * *

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the historical evolution of pre-service normal teacher education, a descriptive analysis of the current status of the junior normal college system, and a review of efforts that are underway to further improve the five-year program.

Dr. Ching-Jiang Lin, president of the prestigious National Kaohsiung Teachers College and a distinguished scholar in comparative education and educational sociology, recently presented a paper titled "Tradition and Innovation: Trends in Curriculum for the Preparation of Teachers" (referred to henceforth as the *Lin Report*, 1982). This essay was prepared for the 29th International Conference on Teacher Education held in July 1982 in Rome, Italy. As a consequence, this scholarly work is both relevant and timely. Dr. Lin points to six influences that interface with the dynamics of the curriculum for the preparation of Taiwan teachers. Scholars of pedagogy will often point to the fact that a curriculum is a vital component in the preparation of teachers. Current thinking suggests that other factors — inherited intellect, size, gender, giftedness in arts, sports, or gregariousness — are less important than the educative environment in which a potential teacher is placed. This, in essence, is the thesis of the *Lin Report*, 1982.

The first influence that Dr. Lin addresses is the relatively high social prestige of teachers in Taiwan. Empirical research suggests that the relative position of a teacher in modern Formosa is much higher than in most Western nations. This is based on how the community views a teacher in relation to the other professions. Ironically, when teachers are asked if they believe that they are of high prestige, they deny this and point to two objective factors which suggest that their place in society is not nearly as important as society at large believes: (1) Their salaries, though not low, are, at best, moderate; (2) elementary school teachers have little opportunity to earn advanced degrees beyond their junior normal college diploma. This conflict — the external view of teachers as holding a high place in society and the view teachers have of themselves as far less prestigious — is a dilemma facing the educational system of Taiwan. Two factors account for the prestige of teachers: (1) The nation's history and culture, and (2) the

government's unceasing efforts to honor the teacher through awards ceremonies and other forms of public recognition.

A second influence that Dr. Lin identifies is the great part the teacher plays in influencing the growth and development of the young people of Taiwan. As Lin writes, "In this sense, teachers' professional power, that is, the extent of influence the teacher has on the value and behavior of his students and of the students' parents, is not commensurable to their high prestige. As compared with the professional personnel like physicians and engineers, teachers have exercised less of their professional power."

The third influence is that the field of education is changing its view of what makes a "good teacher." In previous times it was felt that good teaching was related almost exclusively to personality characteristics. Recent indications, however, suggest that the milieu in which the pre-service training of teachers takes place is an important molder of the qualities of the future pedagogue. "The subculture of the school where a teacher works," states Lin, "and of the teaching group of which he is a member will have an effect on the cultivation of a good teacher."

Research as an ongoing process in the teaching profession is the fourth influence that Dr. Lin mentions. "Teachers must be conscious of 'education as a research-minded profession' so that the whole teacher corps will become research-minded, and then teachers can discharge their function of renovating and generating progress."

The fifth influence is the fact that in modern Taiwan the teacher plays a multifaceted role in the society. Traditionally he was viewed as a scholar-gentleman; today he must be more. These new roles fall into three phases: "In the classroom teachers help students undergo their process of socialization and [help] students according to the social-economic needs; in school they impart knowledge and deal with the problems that occur in that complicated organization; and in the community they coordinate the relationships with the community and help promote social development."

Dr. Lin suggests that the sixth influence that must be melded with the teacher education curriculum is the development of future orientedness. The curriculum, he sug-

gests, can be modified to affect this value (*Lin Report*, 1982, p. 1-4).

The combined scholarship of Dr. Wei-fan Kuo and Dr. Ching-Jiang Lin in their respective papers gives insight into the current general organization and the dynamics of curriculum and the educational sociological processes that are occurring in modern Taiwan. It might be added here that this writer had the opportunity to spend many hours in conversation with these two distinguished scholar/administrators and through the remainder of this book their ideas and reflections will continue to appear.

Education of primary school teachers in Taiwan has its roots in the latter years of the Ching Dynasty. Perhaps the father of the normal colleges in China was Sheng Hsuen-huai, who opened the first teachers college when he set up the Nan-Yang Public School in Shanghai in 1897. Both government (public) and private missionary schools existed in China long before this and spanned the whole educational continuum. The school at Nan-Yang, however, was the first that had as its primary mission the training of teachers for the developing public schools of the pre-Republic period.

A complexity of factors, historical and social, seem to have come together in this era to help bring about the concept of teachers colleges. The Western nations, particularly the United States, Germany, France, and England, had quite recently begun developing a separate educational model and track for the preparation of teachers. Traditional liberal arts education that was found at such distinguished schools as Columbia, Harvard, Oxford, Cambridge, the University of Paris, and the University of Berlin was being viewed by progressive educators and psychologists like John Dewey and William James as too esoteric for and distant from the needs of teachers. Japan, which in the 1870's had begun its emulation of Western ideas, customs, and institutions, was also developing a separate track for the training of pedagogues. Leadership in all of these societies, as well as in Manchu China, concluded that the unique learning needs of children were not being met by the traditional scholar-pedants who were hired as teachers in the earliest public schools of these

nations. The Chinese correctly concluded — and this philosophy was based on their own protracted educational history — that the top priority of education should be teacher education.

The logic of this is all too obvious. A civilization's vitality depends on the qualities possessed by its statesmen, engineers, physicians, scientists, lawyers, writers, and other social and cultural leaders. Though all of these professions are generally more affluent and prestigious than that of the teacher and, at the superficial level, seem to be more important (their works can be measured empirically; a teacher's influence cannot), it is the teacher and his skills, knowledge, and moral leadership that is the *raison d'etre* for these societal leaders.

The earliest document that reflects the genesis of normal school education is titled "Memorandum to the Emperor on the Establishement of Nan Yang Public School" (1897). In this important historical item Sheng Hsuen-huai relates how the general scenario for teacher education was formulated:

> An examination is to be held to select 40 high-potential persons, who are then to be placed in the teachers yuan [institute] and who will be trained with all relevant Chinese and Western learning by both Chinese and foreign teachers, in order that they may be acquainted with both theoretical and practical ideas and studies, and may be industrious in their academic pursuit and skilled in collecting evidence for their studies . . . . Another examination is to be held to select 120 bright teenagers from the ages 10 to 17 years old, who will be taught in the outer yuan hall [primary and middle school institute] by students of the teachers' yuan [normal junior college]. In this way, students of the teachers' yuan are learning and teaching at the same time, and one year later they [will] make great improvement in their practical performance as well as theoretical knowledge (*Chen Report*, 1977).*

From the above quote one can perceive that the intention of the unique Nan Yang Public School and Normal College was

*Chen, Mei-sheng (Mason), "Education of Primary School Teachers," in *Bulletin of the National Institute of Education Materials* (Taipei, 1977), referred to henceforth as the *Chen Report*, 1977.

to place, synergistically and symbiotically, students who were teachers and teachers who were at the same time students. Secondly, the effort implied that this cohort of potential pedagogues would be isolated and insulated from the traditional mandarin educational system, which in the last years of the Ching period had all but become fragmented. Scholars of this era wished to expurgate from the classical examination system the new, pristine schemata that was seen as a more progressive means for the preparation of teachers.

Chang, Po hsi, writing in his "Outlines of Educational Affairs" (circa 1900), has noted:

> Teachers are indispensable to schools. We can engage them from Japan and the Western nations for the Great Hall of Learning (universities), the Higher Learning Hall (tertiary schools) and even the common Learning Hall (academic secondary schools), but what about all of the local Lower Learning Halls and Middle Learning Halls? Are we going to engage foreign instructors for all of them? The only step to be taken is to establish normal schools for teachers . . . . Primary schools are the keys to enlightenment of all nationals, it is therefore the normal teachers institution that trains pedagogues for primary schools in which an educator should commence his career (*Chen Report*, 1977).

As early as 1902 when the nationwide normal school system was promulgated with the Imperial Regulations of Schools, it has been an imperative of the Chinese government — Dynastic and Republic — to have teacher education centralized under the national administration. Complemental to this concept is the fact that all teacher education, pre-service and in-service, is funded by the government through its general tax revenue. Concomitantly, the central government has always had control over admission procedures, curriculum, and teacher licensure. This philosophy is, of course, at variance with the school system of the United States; one must remember that few nations have a decentralized educational system, and no nation but the United States is as cavalier about its efforts to have standardized teacher education criteria and programs. (American teacher education is, in this writer's view, dysfunctional essentially for this reason.) Ad-

mission to the various Chinese normal schools from 1902 was dependent on successfully passing a competitive examination.

The government of China, in these earliest years of formalized normal education, set a pattern that existed in Mainland China until 1949 and remains intrinsic to the model found in contemporary Taiwan. The system allowed for each district (*Chou*), county (*Hsien*), and Province (*Sheng*) to have a normal institution. Provincial level schools were allowed to have up to 300 pre-service pupils, while the local schools could have only 150. Upon completion of their studies, the graduates would receive a government license; they were also under obligation to teach in the primary school system of the province in which they lived. The length of time of service was normally six years. If an individual had supported himself through his education, and this group was a distinct minority of perhaps 10 percent, he was required to teach for only three years. It was estimated that the cost differential of tuition and educational advantages equaled three years of paid government service. As Dr. Wei Fan Kuo suggests, the Chinese concept of a teacher training institution is frequently cited to be analogous to a military academy in the sense that education is considered a sort of "national spirituai defense" against the corruption of moral values rooted in . . . culture (*Kuo Report*, p. 1).

Variations of the system have at times been implemented, particularly when the nation was faced with an extreme shortage of teachers. Most obvious of these periods in recent Chinese history were the years of the early Republic, the period of the Sino-Japanese War (1933-1945), and the first ten years after Taiwan retroceded to China and became the seat of the Republic of China. During these periods of duress, the normal schools would accept young people who were 17 years of age, had completed an academic program of study, and also had passed qualification examinations. An intensive year or more of study in pedagogical techniques would be given to these students, and upon completion they would be awarded a teaching certificate and could become part of the corps of primary school teachers. Most educators in Taiwan

with whom this writer spoke felt that these individuals were inferior to their counterparts who had completed the full normal school curriculum. They pointed out that in regular teachers colleges an interrelationship is always worked for between the academic subjects and texts under study and the concepts of pedagogy and methodology. In the other model, whereby a person with superior academic credentials is then given a one-year normal school program for technique training, a polarized situation is created and this is harmful to the development of the fully self-integrated scholar/teacher.

Further centralization and governmental authority was gained over the training of teachers when in 1932 the "Law of Normal Schools" was announced by the Nationalist Government in Nanking. By this statute the status of normal education and pre-service training were legally solidified. Normal schools were to enroll graduates of junior high schools who would receive, at government expense, three years of academic and pedagogical training. A special department for the preparation of kindergarten teachers was also opened at schools which would require two years of study after the ninth grade (*Chen Report*, 1977). This law determined that China, which had experimented with semi-autonomous teachers colleges based on the American system in the 1920's, would return to its long history of centralization and place this most important facet of a society's development under central authority. A system that included a total of 12 years of education — six of primary school, three in an academic middle school, and three in normal school — lasted until the late 1950's when the government in Taipei made sweeping reforms to upgrade the system to meet the demands of Taiwan's rapidly developing economic and international situations.

It was in 1960 that the Bureau of Education tried a major experiment to upgrade teacher education in Taiwan only to find that the new system proved faulty. According to the new paradigm a youngster would not be admitted to a normal school for primary teachers until graduated from an academic high school. Upon graduation the student would be required to compete in the Joint College Entrance Examination, and if his scores were suitable he would be admitted into a three-

year junior normal college. This provided the pre-service student with two years of college course work and one additional year of practical guided classroom internship experience. Though the teachers who completed this program were, no doubt, highly educated compared to their predecessors, it was concluded two years later (1962) that the system was failing to establish the professional attitudes in these neophyte pedagogues. A second reason this plan was found asthenic by the educational planners of Taiwan was that it discriminated against poor bright children who could not afford to go to the academic high school but who had an eagerness to improve their lives through the academic process. This second modus was, of course, antithetical to the views of Confucius and his apotheosis that education should not discriminate based on class status or economics.

Between 1963 and 1967 the model of only admitting high school graduates to normal primary school was changed in all of the nine junior normal colleges in Taiwan. The new system that was commenced in 1963 would admit young boys and girls by competitive examination *after* completing the ninth grade. Junior normal college education would include five years of study and terminate after the 14th year of schooling. Again all expenses would be paid and a small salary given to these pre-service students. As a consequence, Taiwan since 1963 has had the requirement of one of the longest periods for the formal training of primary school teachers. The current configuration is as follows: The student attends the nine-year compulsory education system and upon graduation sits for the national normal college entrance examination that is made up and controlled by the faculty of these schools and also the faculty of the three normal baccalaureate institutions. Given each summer, this test is proctored by the nine junior normal colleges. One of these colleges has responsibility for the total administration of this exam and this responsibility is rotated. Only five to seven percent of the students sitting for this examination pass it. According to Dr. Huang, Kun-Huei, Commissioner of Education of Taiwan, one in fifty students is admitted to one of these nine schools. The test may be repeated.

Dr. K. H. Huang, Dr. Mao, Lian-Wen, Commissioner of Education, Taipei Municipality, Dr. Huang, Ping-Huang, Chairman, Department of Education at Chengchi University, and Dr. Lin, Chang-Jiang, President of National Kaohsiung Teachers College, distinguished scholars and educators all, make these observations about the young men and women who are admitted to the five-year junior normal college: They are generally from rural-farm backgrounds and of the Taiwanese dialect ancestry, though some are the children of minor urban civil servants, teachers, and skilled workers. Intellectually, motivationally, and emotionally they are equal and often superior to the young men and women who choose to go to the traditional academic or vocational high school and are the equals of those who, after 12th grade, pass the Joint College Entrance Examination; they come from stable, hard-working families who are of lower or lower-middle income levels but who hold strongly to the work ethic; and they tend to be of families who have the desire, but not the money, to use education as a means of upward social and economic mobility.

It might be noted that a disproportionate percentage of the educational leadership in Taiwan — professors, university and college administrators, and leaders in vital government positions *vis-a-vis* education — are products of the junior normal college. Needless to say, they furthered their studies, earned the baccalaureate, master's, and doctorate, and continued to devote themselves to the ideals of open, public education. This writer remembers being at a dinner with eight or ten of the leading educators of Taiwan when it was pointed out to me that "all of us in this room were from humble origins." In no way did the group seem dysphoric when this observation was made; rather it was a statement of pride suggesting that the system worked.

Today in Taiwan the current system of the five-year junior normal college is up to 14 years — six years of primary education, three years at the junior high school, and five years at the junior normal college (6-3-5). The United States uses the 6-3-3-4 system and requires of its elementary teachers at least 16 years of formal schooling. Plans call for Taiwan to increase the junior normal college to a four-year teachers college,

hence allowing graduates to earn the B.A. degree along with their certification. Costs involved with this will be very great, and the upgrading of faculty at the teachers colleges is essential before this can easily be eventuated. Taiwan as a nation can point out that its five-year program for the specific preparation of elementary school teachers is the largest of the developed nations — though only two of those years of training are equal to university level education.

Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands, as mentioned earlier in this book, were seized by the Japanese Empire in 1895 after Japan defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). While the Chinese Mainland, under the fragmenting Ching Dynasty and also during the Republic era, was making efforts at bringing about needed educational reform and innovation to its normal school system, a parallel process was taking place in the Japanese-occupied island of Formosa. Though the Japanese intellectual Josaburo Takekoshi, writing in *Japanese Rule on Formosa* (1907), suggests that Chinese education in Taiwan prior to 1895 was at its nadir and that Japanese occupation brought about a renaissance in educational vitality, this view is not widely held today by scholars of Oriental history. Professor Takekoshi went on to note with insights seldom seen in colonists:

> We must have a great deal of patience. You have not been here more than nine years yet, and nine years are but as a moment in the life of a State. How is it possible in such a short time to change the characteristics of the natives whose minds have been moulded by the history of this island for the last three hundred years, and also by all that happened in China during the past sixty or seventy centuries? It is fully a hundred years since England gained possession of India, but the people of that country are not yet fully assimilated. Here in Formosa at least the same amount of patience is required as has been exercised in India.
>
> Indeed I am impressed with the necessity of patience being shown by everyone who is engaged in the work of education on the island (p. 297-8).

Formal teacher education was begun in Taiwan under the Japanese administration. At that time (in 1896) the Japanese

Language Institute, one of the major schools in Formosa, created as part of its program a Normal Department. Not until 1919 were independent normal schools established independent of the Language Institutes. Taipei and Tainan Normal Teachers Schools were set up at that time; in 1923 Teaching Normal School was established. Consequently, by the mid-1920's the people of Taiwan, under Japanese occupation, had the forerunners of a normal school system.

"In the first stage of its development," indicates the Chinese scholar Huang, Peng-Hung, "the program offered at the institution was of two types: (1) The general course admitted graduates of elementary schools for five years of professional training (four years for female students); (2) the practice teaching course provided one year of professional training with emphasis on student teaching for graduates of the general course, of the four-year girls high school, and for those who had finished four years of study in the five-year boys high school" (P. H. Huang, 1970, pp. 10-11).

In 1933 another year of education was included in the program for men and women; the normal schools were, hence, elevated to junior colleges. Again in 1943 efforts were made by the Japanese proctors of education in Taiwan to improve the teacher education programs.

> In place of the five-year general course and the two-year practice teaching course, two types of new programs were developed. The first was called "the preparator course" which provided for graduates of higher elementary school (first through eighth grades) two years of study with emphasis on general education. The second was called "the regular course" which provided three years of professional education for graduates of the preparatory course, of the four-year girls high school, and for those who had finished four years of study in the five-year boys' high school. With the establishment of this new system, professional education for the prospective female elementary teacher was raised to the same standard as that set for the prospective male elementary teacher (P. H. Huang, 1970, pp. 11-12).

The defeat of Japan by China and the Western allied forces in 1945 and the fall of the Japanese Empire brought the sub-

sequent retrocession of Formosa to its motherland — China. Education, as well as all other institutions of government, was irrefragably in a state of disarray. Perhaps the only saving dimensions of this period were that Japan upon departing had left the rudiments of an educational system in place, and, secondly, the momentum of Chinese educational history.

Japanese educators were quick to leave Formosa for their homeland where their talents were desperately needed. Immediately the National Government of China made provision for the continuation of the educative process in Taiwan, and special emphasis was placed on teacher education. The first major change, which was seen with a taurine eye by most people of the island, was to change the official language from Japanese to Mandarin Chinese. Immediately new opportunities were made available to the indigenous population to enter the four teachers colleges that were (in 1946) situated on the island — Taipei Normal, Taichung Normal, Tainan Normal and Changhua Normal. Classes for the preparation of teachers were also established in other areas of the island, particularly Hualien, a littoral fishing village on the east coast of the island. Two new normal schools were set up in Hsinchu and Pengtung (*Chen Report*, 1977).

In 1945, prior to the Japanese surrender, there were in Taiwan a total of 16,000 school teachers, only half of whom were of Chinese-Taiwanese ancestry. Many of these were really only teacher aides or teachers-in-training and had not passed through one of the normal junior colleges. To remedy this shortage of teachers, extraordinary measures were taken. Basically, the junior teachers college was reduced to three years and could be entered after completion of ninth grade and the successful passing of an examination. This appears to have been a necessary emergency move to have more teachers trained in pedagogy as expeditiously as possible. The government also initiated programs whereby ex-servicemen who were deemed well educated and of high moral standing could take two years of teacher training and be certified as elementary school teachers. Hualien Trang Center for teachers became the main location for the education of ex-servicemen; also the various normal schools, which in the early 1950's numbered eight, held evening classes and

summer institutes for ex-servicemen who chose to pursue education. A majority of these individuals had come with the Nationalist forces and were from the mainland, which in 1949 had fallen to the Communists. They were generally fluent in Mandarin (as opposed to one of the provincial dialects) and it was felt that their status as Mainlanders who had fought both the Japanese and the Communists would add to the syncretistic effect that the Chinese government on Taiwan so desperately wanted. In 1952 the normal colleges, which since 1946 had had three-year programs, were reorganized into five-year programs. A progressive system was set up in the 1950's that would assure quality of normal school education. Besides the change from the three-year to the five-year tertiary system for pre-service education, summer school became an important part of in-service experience. Special centers were set up for training administrators; and in the 1960's and 1970's the China Television Service, under a contract with the Ministry of Education, began programs that were to train teachers. It was referred to as Television Normal College and some 16,000 students enrolled. Under this model, which ended in 1977, half of the course work was to be taken by television, mailed-in homework and correspondence, and examination. The other half required the student to attend classes at centrally located sites around the island. This is perhaps the best use so far of television as a medium of education. Evaluation of those who were educated in this fashion show no appreciable difference from students who took the more traditional road (Interview, Mr. F. H. Chou, Director Educational Department, Chinese Television Service, October 1982).

The following table (page 78), which comes from the *Chen Report*, reveals the changes that have taken place in junior normal teacher college education from 1945 to 1977.

* * * * *

At the heart of any educational system is the curriculum. Curriculum, as used in the context of this book, may be defined to mean a "collection of courses that when studied give the student a body of knowledge, a sense of values, and techniques and abilities. The courses are offered and ar-

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ranged in such a manner that the program which they form becomes synergistic, interrelated, and holistic."

Two schools of thought tend to dominate the field of curriculum scholarship. One suggests that it is most imperative for the student to be steeped in academic subject matter. Courses in mathematics, science, history, language, and the other arts, humanities, and science-oriented courses, this first group of educationalists believe, are what make a strong curriculum and that pedagogical techniques will appear quite naturally if a student is well versed in his academic disciplines.

The second view, and the one that tends to prevail today, suggests that the ability to teach a subject is really more important than having advanced training in a highly specialized subject area. This group of scholars, most of whom took their degrees in education and were influenced by the utilitarian-instrumental school of thought that dates from the William James/John Dewey era, dominated the hierarchy of education. Many of these scholars are in leadership positions in Taiwan's educational system and are products, at the doctoral level, of prestigious schools of education in the United States.

This dichotomy has been with the field of educational philosophy for many years and there seems to be no correct answer as to which will prevail in the training of teachers — academic or pedagogic training. A meld of the two is, of course, the ideal; however, reaching the perfect balance of academically oriented subject matter classes with courses that are intended to make good teachers (methodology courses and seminars) is still clouded by the subjective values that scholars hold, based on their own academic/pedagogical training and the literature that is currently dominating the field of teacher pre-service education.

In the establishment of a curriculum for any educational setting certain presuppositions are made:

1. Human culture is learned, not biologically or metaphysically inherited.
2. The human mind and spirit are plastic.
3. Younger generations are incapable of survival, as we know it, much less of developing mature social values without education.

4. A relationship exists between what is taught (input) and the student's moral and intellectual behavior (output).
5. It is in the best interest of a nation to create learning experiences that contribute to the social good and enhance the concept of pride in one's self.
6. A fundamental progression takes place in learning — from the simple to the complex.
7. The arrangement and organization of learning activities is essential if schools are to have more than a maintenance function.
8. A common base of information, generalizations, assumptions, and ideals is necessary in a society if progress and harmony are to be enhanced.
9. Learning is most effective if the student senses a relevance in his subject matter.
10. Older scholars and educators are better equipped than students to determine what students should learn, how they should learn, and in what sequence learning must take place. (Derived from separate research done by Douglas C. Smith, 1981-82).

A curriculum is indicative of a number of things: It tells the researcher what a society values as skills and behavior roles of its young; it suggests how developed a school or college is; it shows where a society places greatest stress; it allows one to judge behavior modifications that are anticipated; and it suggests not only the history of a nation or society but also what the leadership wants the populace to be like in the future. A curriculum is the brain of an educational institution in that, theoretically, only those items covered in the formal learning process will be absorbed by the student. It is fallacious to assume that forces outside of the school do not interface with the learning process in the school; the development of curriculum makes no allowance for this supposition and therefore becomes a prototype of the society and the mind-set of the educated class.

The great importance of curriculum organization and development makes it a topic that must be explored if we are better to understand modern Chinese education and the

Taiwan junior normal teachers college.

The junior normal colleges have as their goal training distinguished school teachers to run the primary school system of Taiwan. In the past different models were used for this purpose; today all primary school teacher pre-service education is in government five-year schools. Student expenses are paid and the enrollees are very bright and competitive. Upon graduation all are guaranteed jobs in the nation at the primary level. Students are required, generally, to live in the school dormitories, to take their meals together, and to become part of a learned community while they are in this pre-service phase of their careers. They are more than students — the schools try to inculcate in them at the earliest phase of their education the view of service to the nation and to humankind.

To effect this noble mission the educational leadership in Taiwan has generalized about the goals of the five-year normal college program:*

1. To develop a teacher who is well balanced mentally and physically.
2. To cultivate positive character traits and the sense of ethics and morality.
3. To enhance national and historical pride in Chinese culture and civilization.
4. To give breadth to the student's basic knowledge and to allow the young person to master skills related to his/her teaching duties.
5. To have an understanding of and empathy for children.
6. To develop the idea that the career of the teacher is one of professionalism and dedication.
7. To cultivate the will to become a recurrent lifelong learner.
8. To encourage students to pursue higher research in their areas of responsibility and interest.
9. To enhance the eagerness of the teacher to participate as a leader in the community and in the nation.

*Interview, Mason Chen, Vice Minister of Education, October 1982.

It is the focus of those who develop, modify, and revise the curriculum to assure that the sequence and juxtaposition of the courses and learning experience at the five-year junior normal college meet the challenge of the nine points mentioned above. The current arrangement of courses and when they are taken is outlined below. Suggested in this multi-year curriculum is the stereoptic nature of the comprehensive five-year junior normal college.

CURRICULUM OF THE NINE JUNIOR NORMAL COLLEGES
AND THE
YEARS CLASSES ARE TAKEN

COURSE		TOTAL CREDIT	First Year 1st	First Year 2nd	Second Year 1st	Second Year 2nd	Third Year 1st	Third Year 2nd	Fourth Year 1st	Fourth Year 2nd	Fifth Year 1st	Fifth Year 2nd	REMARKS
Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Thoughts		4							2	2			
Language	Written Chinese	68	6	6	6	6	6	6	3	3	3	3	Applied Literature included
	Spoken Chinese	2	1	1									
	English	16	3	3	3	3	2	2					
Social Sciences	Civics & Politics	4	2	2									
	History	8	2	2	2	2							
	China's Modern History	2					2						
	Geography	8	2	2	2	2							
Mathematics		16	3	3	3	3	3	1					
Natural Sciences	Biology	8	4	4									Experiments Included
	Chemistry	8			4	4							Experiments Included
	Physics	8					4	4					Experiments Included
Technical Courses	Music	12	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2			Theory of Key-board included
	Fine Arts	12	2	2	2	2	2	2					
	Techniques & Handicraft	12	2	2	2	2	2	2					Tech'ques, Agricul., Home Ec. included
	Physical Education	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Two hours for each credit
Profes. Courses of Educ.	Introduction to Educ.	3					3						
	Development & Guidance of Children	3				2							
	Tests & Statistics of Psychology & Education	4					2	2					
	Psychology of Education	2			2								

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	History of Education	4				2	2			
	Administration of Primary Schools	2				2				
	Survey of Courses, Text, and Pedagogy	2		1						
	Audio-Visual Education	2			2					
Profes-sional Courses of Ed. (cont.)	Study of Language Teaching	4			2					Practice Emphasized
	Study of Teaching Mathematics	2				2				Practice Emphasized
	Study of Teaching Social Sciences	2				2				Practice Emphasized
	Study of Teaching Natural Sciences	2					2			Practice Emphasized
	Study of Teaching Fine Arts & Handicrafts	2					2			Practice Emphasized
	Study of Teaching Music	2						2		Practice Emphasized
	Study of Teaching Physical Education	2						2		Practice Emphasized
	Teaching Practice	8					2	3	3	Two hrs. for each credit
	Activities of Combined Courses									No Credit

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		TOTAL CREDIT	First Year 1st	First Year 2nd	Second Year 1st	Second Year 2nd	Third Year 1st	Third Year 2nd	Fourth Year 1st	Fourth Year 2nd	Fifth Year 1st	Fifth Year 2nd	REMARKS
Military Training			(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)			First thr- fourth yr.; two hours credit only. No credit
Optional Courses	Common Optional Courses	12 to 20							4 to 6	4 to 6	6 to 6	2 to 4	
	Group Otional	20 to 32							4 to 6	4 to 6	6 to 10	6 to 1-	
Credits in Total		259 to 279	32	32	29	29	31	28	22 to 26	22 to 26	21 to 27	15 to 21	
Hours in Total		293 to 313	35	33	33	33	34	31	25 to 26	27 to 28	25 to 31	1- to 25	

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TABLE OF COMMON OPTIONAL COURSES

COURSE	TOTAL CREDIT	First Year 1st	First Year 2nd	Second Year 1st	Second Year 2nd	Third Year 1st	Third Year 2nd	Fourth Year 1st	Fourth Year 2nd	Fifth Year 1st	Fifth Year 2nd	REMARKS
Modern Thoughts of Education	2								2			
Ethics	2								2			
General Psychology	2								2			
Mental Hygiene	2									2		
Sociology of Education	2								2			
Kindergarten Education	2							2				
Home Education	2								2			
Primary School Education in the World	2										2	
Applied Sociology	2							2				
Education of Special Children	2									2		
Education of Boy/Girl Scouts	2									2		
Logic	2							2				
Method on Studying Education	2									2		

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COMMON OPTIONAL COURSES

Principles and Practice of Counsel	2			2	
Principles and Skills of Guidance	2				2
Educational Administration	2		2		
(Primary School) Library Science	2				2
Introduction to Law	2			2	
Readings in English Educational Works	8		2	2	2	2
Readings on Specific Topics	2					2
Art of Abacus	2		2			
CREDIT IN TOTAL	14 to 22		4 to 6	4 to 6	4 to 8	2 to 4

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SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE II: GROUP OPTIONAL COURSES

NAME OF GROUP	COURSE	TOTAL CREDIT	First Year 1st	First Year 2nd	Second Year 1st	Second Year 2nd	Third Year 1st	Third Year 2nd	Fourth Year 1st	Fourth Year 2nd	Fifth Year 1st	Fifth Year 2nd	REMARKS
LANGUAGE and LITERATURE	Introduction to Chinese Classics	4							2	2			
	Study and Practice of Childrens' Literature	4							2	2			
	Practices of New Literature	4									2	2	
	Chinese Grammar	2							2				
	Rhetoric	2								2			
	Guide to Calligraphy	2									2		
	Selected Poetic Works and Practices	2										2	
	Literary Practices	4							2	2			
	History of Chinese Literature	4									2	2	
	History of Chinese Philosophy	4									2	2	
SOCIAL SCIENCES	Topics in Dr. Sun-Yat-sen's Thoughts	4							2	2			
	Modern History of China	2							1	1			
	Modern History of the Western World	2									1	1	

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SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE II: GROUP OPTIONAL COURSES

NAME OF GROUP	COURSE	TOTAL CREDIT	First Year 1st	First Year 2nd	Second Year 1st	Second Year 2nd	Third Year 1st	Third Year 2nd	Four.h Year 1st	Four.h Year 2nd	Fifth Year 1st	Fifth Year 2nd	REMARKS
SOCIAL SCIENCES (cont.)	Chinese Cultural History	4									2	2	
	Western Cultural History	4									2	2	
	Sociology	4							2	2			
	Survey of the Geography of China	3									3		
	Survey of the Geography of the World	3										3	
	Editing of the Courses of Social Sciences in Primary Schools	2									2		
	Production of Educational Material of Social Sciences	2										2	
MATHEMATICS	Infinitesimal Calculus	8							3	3	2		
	Higher Algebra	6									3	3	
	Three-dimensional Alalytic Geometry	3										3	
	Theory of Probability	3									3		
	History of Mathematics	2							2				

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NAME OF GROUP	COURSE	TOTAL CREDIT	First Year 1st	First Year 2nd	Second Year 1st	Second Year 2nd	Third Year 1st	Third Year 2nd	Fourth Year 1st	Fourth Year 2nd	Fifth Year 1st	Fifth Year 2nd	REMARKS
MATHEMATICS (cont.)	Editing and Compiling of the Course of Mathematics in Primary School	2								2			
	Physics	6							3	3			Includ. Experiments
	Production of Educational Materials of Mathematics	2										2	
NATURAL SCIENCES	Physics	6							3	3			Includ. Experiments
	History of Science	4									2	2	
	Global Science	2									2		
	General Biology	4							2	2			Includ. Experiments
	General Chemistry	4							2	2			Includ. Experiments
	Editing and Compiling of the Course of Natural Science in Primary School	2									2		
	Production of Educational Materials of Physics	2										2	
	Selection and Production of Specimens	2										2	
	Biochemistry	2									2		

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NAME OF GROUP	COURSE	TOTAL CREDIT	First Year 1st	First Year 2nd	Second Year 1st	Second Year 2nd	Third Year 1st	Third Year 2nd	Fourth Year 1st	Fourth Year 2nd	Fifth Year 1st	Fifth Year 2nd	REMARKS
NATURAL SCIENCE	Biophysics	2										2	
	Genetics	2									2		
MUSIC	Introduction to Music	2											
	Brass Music and String Music	2											1)Either brass music or string mus 2)Personal Instruc.
	Vocal Music	4											Personal Instruct.
	Keyboard Music	4											Personal Instruct.
	Chinese Music	2											Two hrs. for each credit
	Composition	2											Two hrs. for each credit
	Methods of Conducting	1											Two hrs. for each credit
	Chorus	4							1	1	1	1	Two hrs. for each credit
	Children's Band	2									1	1	Two hrs. for each credit

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NAME OF GROUP	COURSE	TOTAL CREDIT	First Year 1st	First Year 2nd	Second Year 1st	Second Year 2nd	Third Year 1st	Third Year 2nd	Fourth Year 1st	Fourth Year 2nd	Fifth Year 1st	Fifth Year 2nd	REMARKS
FINE ARTS and HANDICRAFTS	Introduction to the Education of Fine Arts and Handicrafts	2							1	1			
	Theory of Color	2							1	1			
	Sculpture	2									1	1	Two hrs. for each credit
	Figure Drawing	2							2				Two hrs. for each credit
	Artistic Design	2									2		Two hrs. for each credit
	Watercolor	2									1	1	Two hrs. for each credit
	Chinese Painting	2							1	1	1	1	Two hrs. for each credit
	Technical Drawings and Design	2									2		
	Techniques	8							2	2	2	2	Two hrs. for each credit, including paperwork
	Gardening	2								2			
	Home Economics	2									2		Two hrs. for each credit
	Study in Childrens' Art	2									1	1	

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NAME OF GROUP	COURSE	TOTAL CREDIT	First Year 1st	First Year 2nd	Second Year 1st	Second Year 2nd	Third Year 1st	Third Year 2nd	Fourth Year 1st	Fourth Year 2nd	Fifth Year 1st	Fifth Year 2nd	REMARKS
PHYSICAL EDUCATION	Principles of Physical Education	4							2	2			
	Gymnastics	4							1	1	1	1	One hr. for two credits, including
	Dance	4							1	1	1	1	Two hrs. for each credit
	Track and Field	4							1	1	1	1	Two hrs. for each credit
	Ball Games	4							1	1	1	1	Two hrs. for each credit
	Water Games	4							1	1	1	1	Two hrs. for each cred.,ball games & national.Gymnastics one offered in cold season.
	National Gymnastics	2									1	1	Two hrs. for each credit
	Administrating of Physical Education	2								2			
	Methods of Instruction	2									2		
	Methods of Training	2									2		

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NAME OF GROUP	COURSE	TOTAL CREDIT	First Year 1st	First Year 2nd	Second Year 1st	Second Year 2nd	Third Year 1st	Third Year 2nd	Fourth Year 1st	Fourth Year 2nd	Fifth Year 1st	Fifth Year 2nd	REMARKS
EDUCATION	Introduction to Pre-School Children Education	2							2				
	Nursery of Pre-School Children	4									2	2	
	Keyboard Music	4							2	2			
	Living Guidance	2									2		
	Personal Development and Guidance of Children	4									2	2	
	Surrounding of Kindergarten and Facilities	2									2		
	Parental Education	2										2	
	Administration of Kindergarten and Nursery School	2										2	
	Texts, Pedagogy and Practice of the Courses of Kindergartens	8							2	2	2	2	Two hours for each credit
	Nutrition of Children	2								2			

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NAME OF GROUP	COURSE	TOTAL CREDIT	First Year 1st	First Year 2nd	Second Year 1st	Second Year 2nd	Third Year 1st	Third Year 2nd	Fourth Year 1st	Fourth Year 2nd	Fifth Year 1st	Fifth Year 2nd	REMARKS
EDUCATION OF THE MENTALLY ABNORMAL CHILD	Psychology of Education of Special Children	3							3				
	Educational Evaluation of Special Children	2									3		
	Skills of Behavior Changes	2								2			
	Study on the Mentally Retarded	2							2				
	Creativity and Special Capacity	2							2				
	Personal Development and Guidance	2								2			
	Texts and Pedagogy of the Education of Mentally Retarded Children	4								4			
	Texts and Pedagogy of the Education of Highly Gifted Children	4								4			
	Cognitive Psychology	2									2		
	Education of the Multi-Handicapped Child	2										2	
	Training for Coordination of Mind and Body	2									2		
	Teaching Practice	2										2	

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NAME OF GROUP	COURSE	TOTAL CREDIT	First Year 1st	First Year 2nd	Second Year 1st	Second Year 2nd	Third Year 1st	Third Year 2nd	Fourth Year 1st	Fourth Year 2nd	Fifth Year 1st	Fifth Year 2nd	REMARKS
EDUCATION OF THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED CHILD	Character Education of Special Children	3							3				
	Educational Diagnosis of Special Children	3									3		
	Direction and Movement	2								2			
	Opthalmology	2							2				
	Audiology	2							2				
	Means of Verbal Communication	2								2			
	Training of Physical Functions	2								2			
	Treatment of Rehabilitation	2							2				
	Texts and Pedagogy of the Education of Handicapped Children	4								4			
	Education of the Multi-Handicapped Child	2										2	
	Braille System	2									2		
	Training of Sign Language	2									2		
	Teaching Practice	2										2	

(Chen Report, 1977)

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This chart shows what classes are taken and in what sequence. In the last two years of study the student specializes in one of several major fields of study: Chinese language and literature, social studies, mathematics, natural science, fine arts, music, physical education, early education, children with exceptionalities, guidance, school administration, education for the blind.

Every course that is given at the nine junior normal colleges has a detailed description and teaching plan. These are standardized throughout the curricula of the nine junior normal colleges, approved by the Ministry of Education, and are the guide from which all professors must prepare their lessons and lectures. They also reflect the expected learning outcome.

Below are samples of detailed teaching plans that are not dissimilar from the models found for other courses (P.H. Huang, 1970, pp. 85-99):

Introduction to Education

This is a two-semester course placed in the first year of the student's program. The stated objectives of the course are:

1. To develop fundamental understandings of education — its meaning, aims and functions.
2. To build the understanding of our current educational policies and system as well as the functions of each level of education.
3. To familiarize the student with current educational systems in advanced countries and new trends in education.
4. To acquaint the student with educational thoughts of great educators in Chinese and Western history.
5. To arouse an awareness of the progress being made in the study of education and to stimulate interest in the study of educational problems.
6. To develop an understanding of the teacher's role and his needed preparation, both personal and professional.

The course covers a wide range of topics such as fundamental understanding of education — its meaning, aims and functions with regard to human development and individual life;

characteristics of a good school; our current educational system and practices; overviews of current education in selected advanced countries; some great educational philosophers in Chinese and Western history; study of different schools of educational thought; the origins of philosophical and scientific study of education and their methods of inquiry; the development of the government-promulgated educational purposes; characteristics of a good teacher and the teacher's role.

Due to the fact that the students taking this course are not well matured in terms of their age (fifteen or sixteen) and their systematic knowledge of education, lengthy lecture by the instructor is avoided with the utmost effort and limited to citing some educational episodes which are within the students' experiences and relative to the content of the course. Instead, the students' views regarding educational issues or their knowledge of educational practices are deliberately sought to open up class discussion. Films and recorded interviews with parents or elementary teachers are also used for the same purpose.

A typical pattern taken in teaching each chapter of the course may be summarized as follows:

Each chapter begins with a lecture by the instructor elucidating the gist of the chapter in question. This is followed by the employment of a variety of teaching methods such as observation of objects and models, demonstration and practice, the use of films and radio, visitations to elementary schools and local health agencies, and, occasionally, the project method. These procedures are called upon with a view to familiarizing the student with current practices of health education in elementary schools and to develop skill in health guidance.

Subsequent class or small group discussions are then held to exchange views, clarify ambiguities and/or help students synthesize their experiences. In concluding each section or chapter the student is given an assignment. Student performance on this assignment is then taken as part of his total performance in the course.

Throughout the course, due record is given to guiding the students to apply their obtained knowledge of health education to their daily life.

Curriculum, Materials and Methods of Instruction

This is a two-semester course with the stated objectives as follows:

1. To instill in the student new ideas and knowledge with respect to curriculum, materials and methods of instruction.
2. To build an understanding of general principles of curriculum construction and the methods of selection and organization of teaching materials.
3. To develop knowledge of various methods of instruction as well as capability to put these methods to practical use.
4. To develop the student's ability and interest in the study of elementary curriculum, materials and methods of instruction.

This course is composed of eight parts:

Part one covers fundamental understandings of curriculum, material and methods of instruction — their meaning, functions, scope, classification, development and the need for their study; fundamental understandings of instructional objectives; the relations of curriculum to objectives, subject matter, teaching methods and the learner, respectively, as well as the relationships among them.

Part two deals with curriculum designs — their meaning, theories, types, principles, bases and methods — and curriculum standards.

Part three discusses such topics as the selection and organization of subject matter, general principles of organizing and arranging subject matter, elementary textbooks and the compilation or writing of supplementary teaching materials.

Part four deals with some general principles basic to a successful teaching experience, such as motivation, apperception, activeness, interest, individualization, socialization, gestalt, proficiency and manifold learning (*i.e.*, primary, associate and concomitant learning).

Part five introduces some well-known or commonly used teaching procedures, such as Nerbartian Formal Steps, the problem method of teaching, the project method, the Morrisonian Cycle Plan of Teaching, supervised study and the socialized recitation.

Part six deals with methods of teaching in psychomotor, cognitive and effective learning.

Part seven introduces some special systems of teaching, such as the Decroly System, the Dalton Plan, the Winnetka Plan, the multi-grade and the two-division methods of teaching.

Part eight deals with techniques of designing teaching plans, general teaching techniques and techniques of study guidance.

While teaching procedures vary somewhat from one chapter to another, depending upon the nature of the topics treated in that chapter, the general pattern pursued in teaching the course clearly follows a line of "lecture, outside reading or observation, oral report, discussion, and homework."

Throughout the course an attempt is made at relating theory to practice. For instance, in dealing with curriculum designs and elementary subject matter, emphasis is given to a careful analysis of current elementary curriculum standards and the new as well as old textbooks to see how and to what extent the theories have been put into practice.

The same is true of teaching instructional methods and techniques in which stress is laid on an examination of the rationale or the fundamental principles underlying the methods or techiniques, demonstrations by the instructor or, in some cases, by the student, and references to fine examples.

The student's practices of teaching methods are of two kinds. One is "impromptu demonstration" in which the student is asked, without any preparation, to tell, for example, a short story in the presence of his fellow students looking into how well he has come to command the techniques of lecture method.

The other is what might be called "simulated teaching" in which the student is asked to "teach" in front of his classmates a teaching unit in accordance with the teaching plan prepared in advance by himself.

In both cases, a subsequent class discussion would be held to comment on the student's performance. Not the least important is the carrying out of assigned homework on the part of the students. They are frequently kept busy writing reading summaries, small papers, observation reports, collecting data, or designing teaching plans. It is upon the student's performance in these learning activities that the instructor bases his evaluation.

Measurements and Statistics in Education

This is a two-semester course designed:

1. To build an understanding of the meaning and functions of measurements and statistics whereby to stimulate the student's interest in applying scientific methods to the study of instructional and guidance problems.
2. To develop knowledge of the principles of measurements and the methods of test construction so as to cultivate the student's ability to construct various kinds of educational tests.
3. To familiarize the student with the nature and content of various kinds of tests and measurements currently appropriate; arrangement, analysis and interpretation of test data.
4. To aid the student to develop the techniques of educational statistics so as to enable him to make an appropriate arrangement, analysis and interpretation of test data.
5. To equip the student to know how to apply methods of research in education to the solution of educational problems and to point out how these problems can be effectively improved.

The content of this course is composed of two parts:

Part one deals with tests and measurements. Specifically, this part includes the meaning, development, types and methods of measurement, characteristics of measuring instruments, short-answer tests vs. essay-type questions, intelligence tests, educational tests, personality tests, vocational and aptitude tests, methods of administering tests and measurements, methods of constructing standardized tests.

Part two deals with statistics and methods of research in education. This part includes such topics as the meaning, classification, procedures and application of statistics, frequency distribution, measures of central tendency and measures of dispersion or scatter, correlation coefficients, normal curve, sampling and reliability, uses of tables and figures, and methods of research in education.

The instruction of the course proceeds chapter by chapter in the following fashion:

At the outset the instructor gives a brief description of the main points to be dealt with in the chapter. Later, assignments are given to the students for outside study. Generally, these assignments are of two types. One is selected questions whose answers are to be found in selected references. The other is to make a field survey of the kinds and nature or methods of tests, statistics and ratings currently being used in elementary schools.

In the first case, the student is advised to mark down whatever questions have come to his mind and to raise them in the next session for class discussion. In the second case, the student is required to make a written report and, in some instances, an oral report in the following session for class discussion.

The role of the instructor in the class discussion is not the one of giving direction, but rather that of giving general comments or conclusions.

At the end of each session or chapter, homework is assigned to the students so as to deepen or check their understanding of whatever they have learned in that session or chapter.

Throughout the course special importance is attached to excercises and the practicability or applicability of the teaching materials. Opportunities are frequently provided for constructing and administering simulated tests right in the class situation. Tests and measurements introduced to the students tend to be those which are currently available in the academic market and readily applicable to the elementary school situations. The materials used for excercise in statistics come mainly from the data once used in previous tests and measurements or from the actual data concerning the institution.

Educational Practice

This is an eight-credit (sixteen-hour), two-semester course placed in the last year of the program with the stated objectives as follows:

1. To provide opportunities for testing educational theories, thus deepening the student's comprehension of the educational theories.
2. To provide practical experiences in the practices of elementary instruction and student guidance.
3. To develop knowledge and skill in school administration.

4. To familiarize the student with general conditions of local educational administration and social education.
5. To form a habit of hard work, and a sense of practicality.

Activities provided in "Educational practice" are of three major types: observation, participation and intensive practice teaching.

Observation. Prior to the intensive student teaching, the students are provided with ample opportunities for extensive observations of school environments, teaching facilities, instruction and classroom management, extra-curricular activities, administrative practices in the affiliated school or other elementary schools in the city, elementary schools' community services, local educational authorities as well as cultural and educational agencies. In some cases, even the observation of local manufacturing factories, such as brewery and paper mill, are also included in the program.

Starting from the second week of the first semester the graduating students, under the leadership of their college supervisor, would start making a two-weeks, round-the-Island educational tour in which they would have opportunities to visit some distinguished or special educational institutions and agencies, and, as far as time permits, some historical relics or scenic spots.

Participation. Shortly before the students start the intensive practice teaching and administrative practice, arrangements are made for the students to work as teachers aides and other school officials aides in the affiliated school. Opportunities are also provided for the participation in community services rendered by the schools and in local educational activities.

The difference between "observation" and "participation" in the educational practices lies in the fact that while the former is conducted under the direct leadership of the college supervisor with the whole class undivided, the latter is directly supervised by supervisory personnel other than the college supervisor with the whole class divided into several small groups.

Established rules in the educational practice program require that observation and participation be preceded by an orientation of the students to some fundamental understandings of these two activities — their meaning, purposes, scope, procedures and needed preparations — and followed

by class or group discussions and handing in one's individual written reports.

Intensive practice teaching. The scope of intensive practice teaching as opposed to the loosely-structured practice teaching done in the fourth year of the program is much wider than one's general understanding of the term "practice teaching" in that the students are required to engage in three areas of practice — instruction, classroom management, and school administration.

Starting from the third week of the second semester, all graduating students who have passed the "evaluative Measurement of Fundamental Knowledge" and "Skills in Elementary Teaching" would simultaneously begin their four-week, full-day practice teaching preceded by four days of orientation. They would be divided into two major groups: Group A would begin their practice teaching first in the affiliated school for two weeks and then transfer to one of the cooperating schools for another two weeks of practice teaching.

Each time the student is going to practice teach, he is required to submit his teaching plan for review and approval by his supervising teacher who is, as a rule, in charge of four to five student teachers at a time.

Throughout the practice teaching period, the student teacher would receive eight-hours-a-day, six-days-a-week intensive guidance from the supervising teacher, regular supervision from the college supervisor and casual guidance from the instructors of special methods courses.

Demonstration teaching by some honor student teachers is frequently held for providing good examples for their fellow students.

At the end of each day's practice teaching, a meeting would be held between the supervising teacher and his student teachers to evaluate their programs both as individuals and as a group. Following the end of a four-week period of practice teaching, a full-day conference would be held between the college supervisor and his students to evaluate their practice teaching experiences. Student teachers are also required to submit written reports of their daily activities to the college supervisor. These written reports, the student's performance in discussions, and the mark given by the supervising teacher using the *Evaluative Measurement of Student's Performance in Practice Teaching*, are then combined to make up the final grade for each student.

* * * * *

In lengthy conversations this writer had with educational administrators in Taiwan* concerning the five-year curriculum found at the nine junior normal colleges, it was indicated that to understand fully the relationship between the curriculum as outlined above and the implementation of the courses it was necessary to have a general understanding of the role of the Taiwan teacher in the primary schools of that nation. We in America have certain expectations of our school system and its teachers. The Chinese have expectations that in a procedural sense are very different. To put the difference rather succinctly, the teacher in Taiwan plays a much greater part in the child's growth and development than does his American counterpart. A few examples will help elucidate this. When the children come to the primary school each day at 8 a.m., the classroom teacher (who has been there since 7 o'clock) inspects their hands, hair, ears, and, at times, teeth for cleanliness, hygiene, and proper maintenance. Should there be potential health problems the teacher has the authority to correct the situation or, if the problem is serious, work with the parents or the school health professional to solve the health or hygiene difficulty. Parents may not challenge the judgment of a teacher in these areas; the teacher has the responsibility to make sure his charges are healthy and able to compete in the learning process. Teachers also visit each child's home once each term to meet with the parents, see how the child lives, how he sleeps, and if he has enough room and solitude for study. If not, the teacher may intervene on behalf of the child.

At all schools teachers are also responsible for giving of moral instruction at the beginning of each day (usually from the writings of Confucius, Mencius, or Dr. Sun Yat-sen) and for participating in the mandatory pre-class physical exercise programs. Not only do these activities create a loving bond

*Dr. Huang Kun-huei, Commissioner of Education of Taiwan; Dr. Lain-Wen Mao, Commissioner, Bureau of Taipei Municipal Education; President Chai-Tsung Pao; President Hualien Normal College; President Betty T. P. Sun Chao, Taipei Teachers College; Professor Joannese Y. H. Cho, Hualien Normal College; and Professor Christine Wu, Taipei Teachers College.

between the teacher and the pupils; it also assures that all children have an equal chance for success in the highly competitive school system of Taiwan. If a child falls behind, the teacher tries to find out the reason for this and will spend evenings at the child's home or in tutoring his charge. The Taiwan school teacher also is responsible for the general appearance of the school. Flowers, trees, pictures, and wall charts adorn the schools and classrooms and the teachers take the responsibility for these activities. All teachers also are active in music, which is a major part of traditional and modern Chinese pedagogics. (The writer was told by many leading educators in Taiwan, and it may well be true, that music is perhaps the most important subject studied by Chinese children. The same side of the brain that helps a child develop calligraphy skills and mathematical abilities is developed by an appreciation of music.) Classes in primary schools each have a small piano or organ and these instruments are used to motivate and gain the attention of the students. Incidentally, average class enrollment in the elementary schools is now about 40 per class. This number is dropping each year as the number of teachers increases and the number of babies born decreases. All teachers, besides their general professional studies, also major in an academic discipline which they teach at the primary level.

Hence, the junior normal college includes three major functions: (1) Giving the students an education equal to their counterparts at the academic high school; (2) preparing the pre-service pupil in courses that are of the traditional college level; (3) training the student in the techniques of teaching, counseling, classroom management, and academic demeanor. After five years of education at the junior normal college (classes are held from 8:15-5:00 daily and two to three hours per night must be devoted to homework) and a one-year pre-service teaching appointment, the person who has passed through this rigorous system is awarded a certificate and is well prepared to face the ordeals and delights of being a school teacher in one of the numerous primary institutions on island Taiwan. Though the salary for the teachers of Formosa is not high, the enthusiasm for their jobs is.

Interviews with educators suggest a number of factors that

contribute to the large number of people seeking admission into the profession:

1. Prestige is very high, especially in the smaller towns, in the countryside, and on the islands that surround Taiwan.
2. Most who choose teaching are idealistic about their work and love the life of scholarship.
3. Job security is very good. No field offers as much job assurance as teaching.
4. Economic rewards—though salaries are not high, teachers are given numerous health and retirement benefits. Also they are not required to pay taxes on their income.
5. Love of children and the enjoyment of being with children is satisfied in the profession. (Interview, Chia-Ching Wan, Academic Dean, Taipei Normal College, October 1982).

Currently the number of teachers, based on sex ratio, is about equal; though in Taipei City, the largest metropolis of the island, about 75 percent of the teachers are women. Most teachers are married and have children.

* * * * *

There are various criticisms of the current curriculum arrangement that the educational leadership in Taiwan is attempting to remedy. The most taxing is related to the schism that naturally exists between academic courses, like mathematics and history, and technique courses, such as teaching language and teaching natural science. Professors, students, and administrators recognize this issue as a major one in the curriculum design of the junior normal college. A review of the catalogues of the five-year normal schools suggests that there has really been no way found to solve this issue to everyone's satisfaction. It is hoped that by teaching academic courses as well as methodology courses in the same environment and encouraging professors in both subjects to be co-supportive the students will be able to learn both the esoteric and the pragmatic. Evaluation of the success of this synthesis, though, is impossible; and this writer, in exploring

the literature on the subject and speaking with academicians in Taiwan and the United States, was unable to find models that would lend themselves to a valid assessment. Perhaps the human mind, which can deal with an infinite range of complexities, solves this problem and students inadvertently integrate their subject matter and the method course work.

A second recurring theme that is being addressed is that professors of education at the junior normal colleges tend to rely on the lecture method of teaching. Though this style does convey the material under consideration, teachers, students, and educational psychologists believe that greater attention, in all classes, should be devoted to group discussion and seminar type formats. When this writer lectured in Taiwan at a number of colleges and universities, he noticed that the students, though obviously bright and evidently interested in the subject, tended to internalize their feelings and were not responsive to the question/answer periods at the end of the talks. There is no doubt about the brilliance of many of these students; they have, however, been in an education setting geared to the lecture system.

All of the nine junior normal colleges are organized along the same lines. All appointments, from the president to the newest professor, are made by the Ministry of Education. Salaries are equalized nationwide and are based on education, tenure on the job, age, publication, and performance. Contracts are from one to three years and no tenure system exists.

The administrative organization at Hualien Junior Normal College, where President Chia Tsung Pa has been chief administrator since 1980, is typical of that found at the other eight schools. (See chart on facing page.)

In conjunction with the regular college administration, each junior normal college has at least one "Experimental Affiliated School" which is under the *de facto* auspices of the college president. Created as laboratories for the practice and experimentation of student teachers who are in their pre-service training, these schools are among the very best public primary schools of the nation, with dynamic teachers and

JUNIOR NORMAL COLLEGE
ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

Ministry of Education

A President of College

President's office

B Secretariat

1. Office of Dean of Studies (Reports to President)

   Library
   Curriculum
   Registrar
   Publications

2. Office of Dean of Students (Reports to President)

   Guidance and counseling
   Extracurricular activities
   Physical education
   Medical assistance
   Mental hygiene center

3. Office of General Affairs (Reports to President)

   Clerical - Archives
   Purchasing
   Bursar
   Custodial activities

a. Office of Practice teaching and Guidance
b. Office of Accounting
c. Personnel Office — Report to
d. Affiliated elementary school — appropriate
e. Committees — administrator

administrators. Preferential treatment in financing and personnel is given to the affiliated school; this is where the would-be teachers learn firsthand about their profesison of choice. The schools also allow the professors at the teachers colleges to try out new ideas in pedagogy or curriculum. Parents make special efforts to have their children accepted by one of the experimental affiliated schools.

Life on the campus of the nine junior normal colleges differs dramatically from the activities of students in academic high schools and the four-year colleges and universities. The leitmotif of the normal school educational experience is to create in the resident both a basis of academic knowledge and also a way of viewing the system of education, himself, and the relationship between these two. In a very general sense, life on the campus is not dissimilar from life in a monastic

order. Rituals, procedures, and courtesies are expected; as one progresses through the program, greater freedoms are given but the theme of the educative experience remains constant.

All students in the five-year pre-service programs live in clean, functional dormitories. These all have study centers, reading rooms, and community baths. Meals are served at a large cafeteria, and normally the center of the campus is a large open field for morning, commencement, and school exercises. The classrooms are modern and the libraries are sufficient; however, audiovisual equipment is not as abundant as one would expect. Students wear colorful uniforms that they often design (by class), and these reflect to the public their unique status in Chinese society. Hair grooming is required, as are proper diet, health, and hygiene. Students with physical or emotional problems are encouraged to seek counsel from the appropriate persons on campus. The retention rate for the five-year program is over 90 percent and at some schools as high as 96 percent. Those few students who drop out do so for emotional, health, or family reasons. The ineluctable competition for admission and the fact that all costs are covered and a small allowance is given assures school authorities that their charges are among the best educated young people on the island. Deep and lasting friendships develop in these junior normal schools and the *esprit de corps* at the colleges is always strong. Great pride enhances the teaching/learning milieu that develops on the campus.

Professors at the junior normal schools have on the average the master's degree, though some may be given teaching appointments with the baccalaureate. The trend now is to encourage professors to continue their formal education and earn the doctorate when possible. Doctorates are rather rare in the teaching ranks of the five-year normal college.

Students at all of the nine junior normal colleges live essentially the same life. The morning begins at 6:30 when all get up and care for their personal hygiene and clean their quarters (the Chinese world-wide bathe in the evening and never in the morning!). From 7:00-7:45 they are free to prepare for the day ahead; at 7:45 all students assemble on the "common field" for the raising of the flag and for the singing of the

national anthem. At 8:10 classes begin and last until 12 noon. There is a ten-minute breather between classes. Between 12 and 1:30 p.m. students lunch and are encouraged (as are all Chinese) to take a 30-minute nap in their rooms. Classes resume at 1:30 and continue until 5:20. Each class is 50 minutes long. Free time is from 5:20 to 6:00 p.m., when students assemble for dinner. From 7:30 to 9:30 students must be actively engaged in homework assignments. Wednesday nights are devoted to attending the movies; students must be back on campus by 9:30.

The first year of a student's life at the junior normal college consists of almost all academic course work. During the second year approximately 20 percent of the pre-service student's time is devoted to education method courses; 80 percent is academic. By the third year the division between academic and pedagogical studies is 70-30 percent. During their fourth year students begin to select courses in their major area of interest, e.g., math, music. The fifth and last year is devoted to classroom activities, mainly in their majors and in teaching methods, but also to two events that are anticipated with eagerness. (1) All students tour the island of Taiwan and visit numerous schools and participate in discussions with teachers and administrators at these select institutions; and (2) during the second term of their final year the pre-service students run the affiliated school. They act out the role of the principal, dean, and teachers. This experience lasts for four weeks and is done in a democratic fashion. The students vote on who will hold what "shadow position" for this period, and the most popular and intelligent students usually become the principal and chairpersons.

Upon completion of the five-year junior normal college, the student is awarded a diploma and is then placed (by the Ministry of Education and the Provincial Department of Education) in one of the elementary schools throughout the island.

Placement of teachers is a complex matter and no perfect system has been devised whereby all teachers, all schools, and all subject areas are fully staffed and/or satisfied. Generally, placement is based on a number of factors: (1) Various regions and schools need teachers who have specialized areas

of expertise; (2) the grades that teachers have influence where they will be placed; (3) teachers request certain places they would enjoy teaching; and (4) the location of a person's family is also taken into consideration. Approximately one of every eight teachers is assigned to the municipality of Taipei for the beginning assignment. This city location is the most desired by teachers for placement. Even though older teachers with five years of service may request a transfer to Taipei, the city does attempt to assure that about 15 percent of its teachers are fresh from college. The Bureau of Education in Taipei City believes that this will enhance the quality of the city's schools. Teachers may request a transfer after five years. Determination of who may relocate is based on a point system that includes in-service activities, recommendation, and taking further course work at the various four-year teachers colleges, usually in the summer. Initial certification of teachers lasts for ten years, at which time it must be renewed. This is done through in-service activities and/or regular college course work. Detailed records are kept of all of these learning experiences and are used to evaluate the progress the teacher is making in his personal and professional career. Incidentally, the first year of teaching is also considered the sixth year of pre-service activity. In America we might call this a period of "probationary teaching." A salary is paid but close attention is given to the new teacher's techniques and knowledge of his subject area.

Seldom are teachers dismissed. According to Principal Chin-Lian Lin of the prestigious Kin-hua Middle School of Taipei, a number of remedial steps are taken to improve a weak teacher — talking with him about his problems and setting out a plan for improvement, reporting the person to the Bureau of Education in Taipei City or to the county official in the province, transferring the teacher to another school, or, if all else fails, dismissal of the teacher from the school system. As was mentioned, this is very rare and corrective measures early in the situtation normally preclude dismissal.

Teachers who elect to move into administration must follow a specified pattern. After teaching successfully for seven to ten years, the candidate sits for a civil service type of examination for which he has been preparing. If his score is

high, his name is put into a pool with other candidates. Six important factors contribute to the achievement of a promotion: (1) How successful the person was in his regular classroom responsibilities; (2) his score on various tests given during his education and career; (3) the tenure that he has had in the school system; (4) education achievements after leaving the teachers college; (5) score on oral test taken in front of other educators, both principals and university professors; and (6) in-service activities and scores. The final decision is made by a committee headed by the Director of the Bureau of Education and professors from National Normal University of Taipei.

A principal's status in Taiwan is much higher, in a relative sense, than one in the United States. He would have the status of a doctor or university professor; his pay is increased also when he assumes this new position. The average age of principals is in the mid-forties; few are appointed before reaching 40 years of age, and generally they come from all of the academic disciplines. The education authorities will allow a principal with unique ideas to try them in his school; however, he must first seek permission from the central administrative office (Interview C. L. Lin, October 1982).

Problems exist in all human endeavors and this is true with the elementary teacher education program in Taiwan.

One of the major issues that confronts the educational leaders of Taiwan is anticipating the number of primary teachers that will be needed in the future. Too few teachers means that class size increases; too many could presage economic and placement difficulties. Ideally, the number of teachers produced by the five-year junior normal colleges should allow a general reduction of the student-teacher ratio but not limit job opportunities for pedagogues in their choice of location or discipline.

A third issue is that, though elementary teachers are respected by their communities, they are not compensated at a rate befitting their importance. Exacerbating this problem are three factors. First is the image of primary school teachers in the minds of their students and their students' parents. Generally young students and their parents believe that the status

of the public primary school teacher is lower than that of teachers in junior and senior high schools. Secondly, teachers who graduate from the five-year normal school do not receive the B.A. degree. There are few opportunities for them to continue their formal degree studies, and hence they must be satisfied with a diploma. Junior and senior high school teachers generally are granted their B.A. degrees prior to beginning their teaching. Thirdly, the youngsters who enter the five-year normal college are generally very superior students, and they note that classmates with lower grades who went to the academic high school and thence to college are financially more comfortable than they are.

All of these concerns are logical and are being addressed by the Ministry of Education, the Provincial Department of Education, and others who are in leadership positions in the education structure of Taiwan (*Chen Report*, 1977).

教師

CHAPTER 4

ACADEME
Pre-service Secondary Teacher Education in Taiwan

The preparation of secondary school teachers in modern Taiwan is centralized under rules and regulations set forth by the Ministry of Education. While primary school teachers must attend one of the nine junior normal colleges on the island, secondary teachers have greater latitude in their formal pedagogic preparation. Generally there are five tracks that may be followed. First, Taiwan has three prestigious institutions that have as their fundamental mission the pre-service education for men and women who choose to teach grades 7-12 or who wish to enter eventually the field of college teaching. These government-supported colleges are National Taiwan Normal University in Taipei (NTNU), Kaohsiung Teachers College in the austral part of Taiwan, and National Taiwan College of Education located in the community of Chang-hwa, which is on the outskirts of Taichung in the central part of the island. All of these schools offer four-year baccalaureate programs which require 128 credit hours of course work; and upon completion of a fifth year of student teaching, the graduates of these three sthenic institutions are given certification as well as a position in the secondary schools or colleges of Taiwan (depending on personnel needs). These degree-granting institutions produce the preponderance of teachers for the middle and tertiary schools in Taiwan.

All expenses are paid by the government for students who are admitted to these day schools. It should be noted that admission is predicated on successfully passing the regular Joint College Entrance Examination (JCEE). Competition to any of these demotic schools is fierce, and National Taiwan

Normal University is often a student's first choice of all colleges. This unique institution is the finest university in all of Asia that has as its primary mission the preparation of pedagogues.

All of these teachers colleges also offer evening programs in education-related fields. Admission to evening school — which is academically quite the same as day school — depends on successfully passing the JCEE. Students are not given government grants for attendance and must pay their own tuition, book costs, and housing and food expenses. Conversely, the graduates of the five-year evening B.A. program at one of these three schools is not obligated, as are the day students, to serve as public secondary teachers for five years. Many do choose a life in education; others will move into other fields of endeavor.

The third route to becoming a teacher in the secondary schools of Taiwan is to take a regular B.A. degree from one of Taiwan's 24 non-teacher public and private colleges and universities and then take another 20 credit hours of post-graduate education courses at one of the three schools aforementioned. The opportunities for this method of moving into teaching are rather slim; private secondary schools often will hire students from this type of two-fold program. In these cases the students are required to pay for their education and materials, and the government has no assured policy to find placement for students who have not taken the regular pre-service teacher education program.

The fourth major means by which a young person may become a secondary school teacher is to attend a government university that has a publicly supported department of education. The most notable one is Cheng-Chi University, located in the far suburbs of Taipei. This school has been given the right to offer a limited number of students admission into the department of teacher education, which is currently chaired by Huang Pen-Huang (Ph.D. Columbia University, 1971). Only fifty percent of the students in this agonistic department are on government subsidies; the others must cover their own expenses. Those who are supported by the government are required to teach for the equal number of years that they were subsidized.

A fifth method is used by a small number of persons to gain secondary certification. A teacher who has finished the five-year junior normal college program and has also completed successfully five or more years of teaching in public school may be nominated for admission into one of the three baccalaureate level teachers colleges. If accepted, the student need not take the JCEE; his status is that of a sophomore, and upon graduating with his B.A. he is required to serve in the secondary schools for a number of years equal to the government subsidy. Some students pay their own way and do not have to repay the government through teaching services.

Generally, these five models and variations are the conduits that a young man or woman must follow in order to become a teacher in grades 7-12 in Taiwan. One problem that educationalists point out is that the routes to become a secondary teacher are quite different and a more standardized approach may be in the best interest of teacher morale and pedagogic training. Professor Chi, Li-ho, in his critical article on Taiwan secondary teacher preparation program, "Secondary Teacher Education" (in Chinese only, referred to henceforth as the *Chi Report*, 1977), points out in great detail the problems associated with the multifaceted approach to teacher education at the tertiary level. Though Professor Chi has done a commendable job of analysis, this writer suggests that his criticisms are perhaps too strong, particularly when Professor Chi attempts to equate violence in Taiwan's high schools (which is very rare and isolated) and the fact that there is no single track for the preparation of secondary teachers. Complexities such as urbanization, influences from Japan and America, and the mobility of the people of Taiwan are the main reasons for the few cases of vandalism that have been noted, and dealt with, in Taipei's and Kaohsiung's urban high schools.

The early history of colleges for the preparation of secondary teachers follows closely that of primary teachers, which was covered in the preceding chapter. Secondary pre-service education, however, is also modeled more on the concept of the academy. That is, the emphasis has always been more towards academic excellence; it has been felt, historically, that courses in the science of education should play a relatively

limited role in the education of secondary school teachers. Taiwan's policy of pre-service education for all teachers, grades 1-12, is firmly under government supervision and this is the main difference that can be pointed to if one wishes to compare the educational programs in America with those of Taiwan. The Ministry of Education, specifically the Division of Pre-service Secondary Education, has authority over all aspects of curriculum, personnel, funding, construction, libraries, and placement. This division, which is made up of scholars who themselves were educators and experienced in teacher education, will often form committees of college professors, presidents, and key government leaders when formulating policy or reorganization. (This writer was impressed with the open communication that appears to take place among all educational authorities and scholars in Taiwan.) Disagreements are not uncommon; however, once a decision has been reached by the committee process and that decision has been sanctioned by the Ministry of Education, all administrators and professors tend to accept it as a *fait accompli*. Further disagreement is ended and the education structure incorporates said policy until such time as it appears counterproductive to the central mission of the teachers colleges of the island.

Currently in Taiwan there are some 50,000 secondary teachers. A majority (65 percent) hold the bachelor's degree, some 25 percent hold professional (pre-B.A.) diplomas, 0.50 percent hold the master's degree, and 6.74 percent have the high school diploma. The remainder have certificates or diplomas from other education settings. Those without the B.A. or M.A. degree normally teach in either the junior high school (7-9) or are specialists in a vocational field and are employed in the field of secondary vocational-technical high school training.

The content of teacher education for secondary school teachers in Taiwan is quite similar for all students who select this profession as their lifetime career. It is assumed that teachers need a combination of interrelated co-supportive learning experiences and curricula to be fully prepared in this most important profession. Four general areas of emphasis

are the foundation of the pre-service secondary education colleges and university: (1) General education (20 percent of courses), (2) specialized education (60 percent of course work), (3) pedagogical/professional training (20 percent of courses), and (4) education foundations (courses integrated into other areas).

General education as used in the context of this book and also as defined by the research available on education in Taiwan refers to "the educational activities arranged by normal institutions which aim at cultivating basic knowledge and expanding students' perspectives so that the students' intellectual dimensions will not be restricted to a narrow corner and so that narrowness of mind and ignorance may be avoided. In the end comprehensive understanding and righteous character will be formed" (*Chi Report*, 1977). The concept of general education can be traced to the golden age of Greece, when an educated man was capable of dealing with numerous topics from politics to poetry, through to the Renaissance and to the modern universities of the Western democracies. A parallel effort was developing in China. Confucius with his multi-arts curriculum began a tradition that has lasted in much of the Orient to the contemporary era. General education exists so that all educated persons in a society may communicate their ideas; to allow the community to have common cultural, economic, and esthetic values; and to assure that future generations are given the opportunity to understand their heritage and perhaps better anticipate their future. The Chinese believe that education for the moral character of a peoples is congruent with the ideals of general education courses. As part of the studies of all students in the teachers colleges of Taiwan, general education courses are required and they are taken through the full four-year cycle. The content of general education at the four-year teachers colleges and universities of Taiwan comprises work in the humanities, social sciences, language, mathematical sciences, and natural sciences. The aim of this part of the curriculum is to provide future educators with a better understanding of these subjects so that they may possess the necessary background to develop appropriate skills, attitudes, and

ideals to be classroom teachers. It is implicit that teachers communicate effectively, both in verbal and written forms, and that they have refined tastes in literature, music, the performing arts, and the visual arts. Understanding of the dynamics of politics, economics, and modern history are also seen as imperatives for the teacher (*Chi Report*, 1977).

The late James B. Conant, President of Harvard University, stated: "As a future teacher one should possess extensive background in general education." Academicians the world over tend to agree with this philosophy; though, as we become more enamored with the world of computers and technological innovation, there appears to be a school of thought which suggests that general knowledge must give way to specialized scientific training if a nation hopes to compete in the world economy. The outcome of this debate is yet to be decided. Courses of general education that are required of all students hoping to earn a regular secondary school teaching certificate are as follows: Chinese, English, Sun Yat-sen's philosophy, general history of China, modern China, and electives among the following: International relations, logic, ethics, philosophy, philosophy for living, introduction to the natural sciences, psychology, the *Analects*, physical education, and the humanities.

General teaching methods, practice teaching, and military training are also required but would not fall specifically under the pre-defined heading of "general education."

The second general, and largest, area of study to which all secondary teachers are exposed is specialized education. According to Professor Chi, Li-ho, specialized education in the teachers colleges and university of Taiwan "refers to educational activity arranged by and for normal institutions, which aims at presenting methods and procedure of learning to students and instructing them in one or several subjects, into which they will make thorough and in-depth inquiries, thus helping them acquire sophisticated knowledge and skills which are applicable to everyday affairs" (*Chi Report*, 1977).

Until relatively recent times all education in China would be of the general type. Influenced by the West, China in the early 1900's began programs that added to students' understanding of advanced social science and pure science tech-

niques. The training of specialists in every conceivable academic field is now part of the mandate of the four-year teachers colleges and their associated graduate institutes. (The three teachers colleges in Taiwan that offer the bachelor's degree also offer a wide variety of master's degree programs. National Taiwan Normal University currently offers doctoral degrees in a number of fields of advanced study.)

It was after World War II that greater emphasis was placed on specialization as part of the teacher education program. The leadership in Taiwan's education system realized that school teachers must be trained in one or two selective fields in order for them to develop the depth of knowledge and research abilities necessary to challenge their secondary school students' intellects. This concept is particularly true in the field of science, which is changing so rapidly. The teachers colleges of Taiwan require all students to declare a subject specialization or, as it is called in America, a "major." Many students also have a secondary field of study. A combination that might be expected would be a major in chemistry with a minor subject specialization in biology. The combination not only enhances the student's job prospects, it also strengthens his studies and makes them more enriching. Educators with whom this writer spoke indicated that in time all junior high school and most senior high school teachers would be encouraged to have a secondary field of specialization.

Below are selected examples of curricula from National Taiwan Normal University's areas of specialization. Some 20 undergraduate specialization fields are currently available at this comprehensive normal university. Also included in the following programs are sample curricula from two graduate institutes, Chinese literature and biology (graduate programs in Taiwan are called "institutes").

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY — Undergraduate History Major

FRESHMAN YEAR

REQUIRED COURSES

History of Chinese Culture (4). -- Denotes credit hours

SELECTIVE COURSES

General History of the World (6), Geography of China (6).

SOPHOMORE YEAR

REQUIRED COURSES

Modern History of China (6), Modern History of the World (6), History of Chinese Historiography (4).

SELECTIVE COURSES

History of Ch'in and Han Dynasties (4), History of Wei, Chin and Six Dynasties (6), History of France (4), History of the Unites States of America (4), General Geography (4), History of Japan (4), History of England (4), History of Chinese Science (4), Introduction to Cultural Anthropology (4), Medieval History of Western World (6), Mongol Language (4).

JUNIOR YEAR

REQUIRED COURSES

Methodology of History (4), Medieval History of China (6), Teaching Materials and Teaching Methods of History (4), Contemporary History of China (4).

SELECTIVE COURSES

Contemporary History of Western World (6), History of Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties (6), History of Liao, Jim and Yüan Dynasties (6), History of Ming and Ch'ing (6), Historical Geography of China (4), History of Sino-Japanese Relations (4), Historical Philosophy (4), History of Chinese Thought (4), Japanese (I) (4), Mongol Language (4), Audio-Visual Education (2).

SENIOR YEAR

REQUIRED COURSES

Ancient History of China (6), Ancient History of Western World (6), Practice Teaching (4).

SELECTIVE COURSES

History of Sino-Japanese Relations (4), Historical Philosophy (4), Selected Readings on History of Japan (6), History of Taiwan (4), History of Ru[illegible] (4), Japanese (II) (4).

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH EDUCATION — Undergraduate

FRESHMAN YEAR

REQUIRED COURSES

Biology (3), Human Anatomy (4), Chemistry (6), Principles of Health Education (2).

SOPHOMORE YEAR

REQUIRED COURSES

Human Physiology (6), Sociology (3), Personal Health (2), Microbiology (3), Parasitology (2), Nutrition (3), Safety Education and First Aid (3), Health Statistics (3).

JUNIOR YEAR

REQUIRED COURSES

Epidemiology (4), Environmental Sanitation (3), Mental Health (4), School Health (6), Mass Communication (4), Methods and Materials of Health Education (6), Maternal and Child Health (2).

Study of Han-Yu's Potery (4), Textual Criticism (4), *Chinese Bibliography (4), *Chinese Typography (4), Study of Chao-Ming-Wen-Sheuan (4), *Study of Humanism (4), *Study of Erh-Ya (4), *Study of Lao-Tzu and Tsuang Tzu (4), Topic in Chinese Dialectory (1), Seminar in Chinese Literature (2), Study of Li-Shang-In's Poetry (3), Study of Chinese Drama and Chu Poetry (4).

*Offered for doctoral program students only.

SENIOR YEAR

REQUIRED COURSES

Teaching Practice (4), Public Health Administration (2), Community Organization (3), Public Health Education (4).

SELECTIVE COURSES

Home Nursing (3), Community Nutrition (4), Group Dynamics (3), Audiology (4), Pharmacology (2), Organic Chemistry (6), Health Material Design (4), Selected Readings in Health Education (2), Population Problem and Family Planning (2), Occupational Health (3), Design for Modern Living (4), Social Psychology (3), Sophomore English (4), Japanese (8), Speech Pathology (2), Seminar in Health Education (2), Biochemistry (3), Applied Anthropology (2), Environmental Pollution (2), Introduction to Ecology (2), Growth and Development of Child (2), Psychology and Education of the Exceptional (3), Educational Diagnosis for the Exceptional (3), Method of Communication (2), Material and Methods in the Education of the Hearing Impaired (4), Teaching Practice in the Education of the Hearing Impaired (2), Food Sanitation (2). Research Method in Health Education (4).

GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF CHINESE LITERATURE

REQUIRED COURSES

Methodology (6), History of Sinology (4), Practice in Writing Chinese (4), Prose (4), The Tenor of Chinese Classics (4), Study of Chinese Literary Theories (4), Indivdual Thesis Consultation (4).

ELECTIVE COURSES

Study of Kuang-Yun (3), Study of Ancient Tones (2), Study of Chinese Poetry (4), Study of Shuo-Wen (4), Practice in Writing Rhyme (4), Study of the Book of Changes (4), Introduction to Chinese History (4), Study of the Works of the Philosophers (4), Introduction to Buddhsim (4), Study of Chinese Novels (4), Study of Chinese Drama (4), Study of Chinese Ancient Characters (4), *A Comprehensive Study on the Chinese Characters (4), Historical Geography (4), Study of the Book of Poetry (4), Study of Li-Hsueh or Philosophy in the Sung and Ming Dynasties (4), Study of Chinese Ancient Grammar (4), Study of Wen-Shin-Dien-Lon (4), Introduction to Li-ism of Sung and Ming Dynasties (4), Study of the Three Books of Rites (4), Introduction to Neo-Confucianism (4), Practice Writing in Chinese Antithetical Style (4), *Study of Chinese Prosody (4),

GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF BIOLOGY

REQUIRED COURSES

Seminar (2), Second Foreign Language (—), Thesis (—).

ELECTIVE COURSES

Virology (3), Molecular Biology (3), Cell Physiology (3), Modern Genetics (2-3), Advanced Genetics (2), Radioactive Isotope Tracer Techniques (2), Introduction to Biophysics (2), Protein and Enzyme Chemistry (2), Biochemical Research Techniques (3), Histochemistry (3), Immunology (3), Medical Bacteriology (2), Genetics of Microorganisms (3), Research on Biological Curriculum (3), Radiology (3).

(A) Electives for Zoology Division

Protozoology (3), Parasitology (3), Physiology of Reproduction (2), Ichthyology (3), Architecture of Brain (3), Herpetology (3), Comparative Physiology (3), Developmental Biology (2), Advanced Animal Physiology (3-4), Physiological Ecology (3), Synecology (3), Physiology of the Central Nerve Systems (3), Animal Physiology Research (6), Physiology of Synapse (4), Experiments in Neurophysiology (3), Physiology of Respiration and Circulation (2), Brain Physiology (3), Endocrinology (3), Invertebrate Endocrinology (3).

(B) Electives for Botany Division

Plant Biochemistry (3), Advanced Plant Physiology (3-4), Photosynthesis (2), Plant Physiology Research (6), Principles and Methods of Plant Taxonomy (3), Plant Morphogenesis (3), Morphology of Vascular Plants (3), Plant Growth and Development (2), Phycology (3), Pteridology (3), Plant Hormones (3), Microbial Ecology (3), Microbial Physiology (3), Advanced Bacteriology (2), Plant Metabolism (3), Plant Geography (3), Advanced Plant Ecology (2-3), Mycology (3), Advanced Mycology (3), Plant Nutrition (3).

(NTNU Catalog, 1982-83, pp. 70-75)

The third curriculum area that is emphasized at the four-year pre-service colleges is "pedagogical" or "professional" education. It is the educational activity taken by the undergraduates that will inosculate most directly with their choice of careers — teaching. "It aims at teaching students how to use knowledge and skills, thus preparing the ground for their future profession" (*Chi Report*, 1977). The concept of professional education is not new. It finds its genesis in the training for the ministry in medieval divinity schools as well as in law, medicine, and military science. Professional educational training came to pedagogues relatively late. Only since the days of John Dewey and Hu Shih has there been a serious effort made to teach teachers how to teach. Experimental psychology, empirical research, physiology and behavior modification, and other relatively new concepts related to education have led educationalists to develop a systematic approach to the preparation of teachers in technique and methodology.

The field of education is still attempting to understand what relationship exists between pedagogical training and excellence in the classroom. Many distinguished Chinese and American scholars argue that great teachers are persons with great learning. Those who have made serious studies of teacher education conclude, however, that a person's skills as

a classroom teacher can be improved through an organized, systematic training program in the pedagogical sciences. In the four-year colleges of education in Taiwan some 26 credit hours (of the 128 total) in the B.A. curriculum are devoted to professional education courses. These include introduction to education, education psychology, educational and vocational guidance, principles of pedagogy, methods of teaching textbooks, practice teaching, secondary education curriculum, and electives — philosophy of education, sociology of education, audiovisual education, educational testing and measurements, principles of moral education, and science education. Electives carry two credit hours and students are required to take between two and four, depending on their program. The other 26 hours of professional education courses are required. The American educator will note the similarity between this "professional block" and what is required in most teacher training programs in the United States. Professor Chi, Li-ho, notes that many of the professional education courses are quite similar in name and questions whether a redundancy of subject matter may often occur.

The last area the student studies is what this writer has termed "foundations courses." These are classes that give the prospective teacher insight into the growth and development of the child and how the steps of maturation can be enhanced through the teaching/learning process. Classes in educational psychology, child development, and the like are all covered by the term "education foundation." Throughout the curriculum of the four-year teachers program these courses are interwoven with the three other areas — general, specialized, and professional education. Incidentally, the majority of the 128 credits needed to graduate come from specialized education. In American universities the emphasis is placed more on general education, particularly those areas not covered properly in high school.

The avatar of the four areas develops in the pre-service student attitudes, skills, techniques, and a personal philosophy that allows him to take his place in the secondary classroom as a teacher.

* * * * *

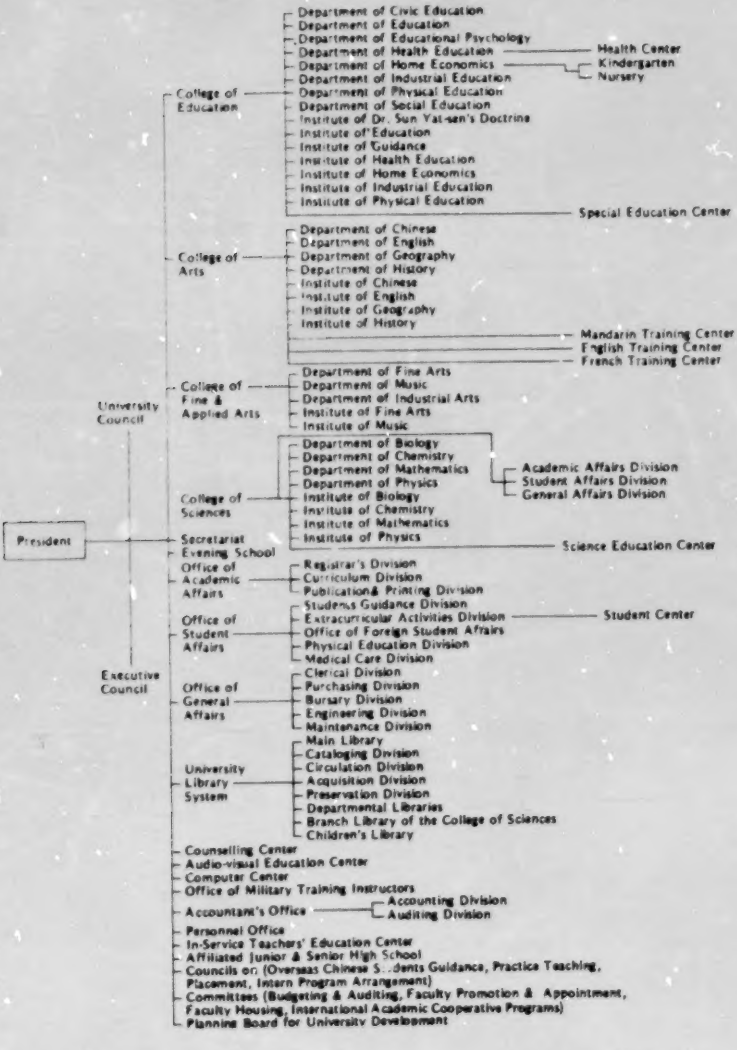
National Taiwan Normal University of Taipei City is recognized world-wide as one of the truly great teachers colleges. A brief description of this distinguished school is presented here so that American readers can better determine the quality of teacher pre-service training in Taiwan. It should be noted that the other two baccalaureate teachers colleges in Taiwan, National Taiwan College of Education and National Kaohsiung Teachers College are also institutions of excellence. However, the oppidan National Taiwan Normal University is the oldest and also the largest. Its reputation in the field of teacher education is of international dimensions, and scholars who visit Taiwan, particularly those wishing to learn the Chinese language, become familiar with NTNU very quickly on their sojourn.

Located below is the organizational chart for NTNU. All colleges and departments are reflected on the schema below and also the lines of responsibility and command.

Founded in 1946 , a year after Formosa retroceded to China from Japan, NTNU has had a proud history in both undergraduate and graduate teacher education, liberal arts, and science education and research. At the time of the retroversion, sweeping changes were made on Taiwan to bring about educational improvements for the indigenous population, which under Japanese rule had been limited in educational opportunities. The Chinese government was able to take over the facility of NTNU, which had been left intact when the Japanese departed. Japan had used the site as an educational center; consequently NTNU, when it was opened in 1946 under Chinese administration, had suitable buildings and grounds to begin the long process of establishing an educational institution for teachers in Taipei City and the province of Taiwan.

Currently the university has well over 1,000 graduates each year, most of whom become secondary school teachers. As of 1981, 39,920 students had been educated in one of the many programs at NTNU. At the school's 17 graduate M.A. and Ph.D. "institutes" and 19 undergraduate "departments," all tuition, board, room, books, and clothing fees are provided by the Ministry of Education to the students free of charge.

NTNU ORGANIZATION CHART



(NTNU Catalog, 1982, p.7)

The atmosphere on the campus is conservative, the spirit of inquiry abounds, and the emphasis on educational effort is seen everywhere. Students who are admitted to NTNU through the Joint College Entrance Examination, which is given each summer, are among the very best on the island. One is reminded of Teachers College of Columbia University or the College of Education at the University of Chicago when on the campus of this distinctive school. (It is suggested that only National Taiwan University, also located in Taipei, attracts a better and more dedicated scholar-student.)

In 1955 the school had its name changed from Provincial Taiwan Teachers College to Provincial Taiwan Normal University. Its university status was again reaffirmed in 1961 when it took its current name. One of the major problems that has always faced NTNU is space. Because the school is located in Taipei City, the emphasis has been in recent years to build upward. Many new high-rise buildings dot the campus. Also a second campus has been built quite close to the original downtown center.

Students from central and southern Taiwan, according to Dr. Kuo, Wei-fan, the distinguished and youthful president of NTNU, make up an unusually high percentage of those studying on this campus. Also a large number come from rural backgrounds and are from families with modest incomes. The free tuition policy is a great attraction to very smart men and women who have limited funds. Students at the school are generally more reserved than their counterparts at National Taiwan Unviersity (about one mile away), but the level of scholarship is exemplary.

The College of Education at NTNU is perhaps most representative of the various colleges of the school. The students who are taking their majors from this college are dedicated to being professional educators. The College of Education is also the university's largest, with eight departments and seven graduate institutes. At present (1983), most educational administrators and school principals are products of the NTNU Department of Education. NTNU is also the alma mater of nearly all of Taiwan's secondary school teachers of physical education.

The Department of Industrial Education plays a major part

in Taiwan's education system; it is the policy of the Ministry of Education to improve the status of students in the competitive vocational high schools. NTNU enrolls over 500 persons in this field, all of whom will become teachers in the select vocational secondary schools in Taiwan. The great interest in this field of study led to the establishment of the College of Fine and Applied Arts, which now houses the Department of Industrial Education.

Another major branch of NTNU is the College of Arts, which includes the departments of Chinese, English, history, and geography. These divisions are best known for the outstanding faculty and students they attract. Many of the students in these fields chose NTNU over the more prestigious National Taiwan University.

Fine arts also plays an important role in the life of many students at NTNU. The departments of fine arts and music are the oldest of their type in Taiwan, and many of the students and professors are of such a high caliber that they are called on to give recitals and also to tutor high school and junior high school music students (*Sinorama*, 1983).

Research plays an important part in the scholarly life of the professors of NTNU. The Ministry of Education will often call upon the faculty of different departments, most of whom hold doctorates from America's better colleges of education, to form committees in the hope of solving problems of an educational or structural/administrative nature. The professors and administrators at NTNU often find themselves candidates for important government jobs and for high positions in other teachers institutions.

The strengths of an institution may be measured by a number of criteria. One that is used when accrediting schools in the United States is the strength of the school's library. NTNU, like many of the other institutions of high learning, has a comprehensive and modern library and management procedures.

The National Taiwan Normal University Library System, located on the main campus in Taipei and consisting of one main library, one branch library for the College of Sciences, and 28 departmental libraries, has an inclusive collection of 600,000 volumes of both printed and nonprinted materials

with an average annual increase of more than 28,000 volumes.

Founded in 1946, the main library moved into its present building upon completion of construction in 1954. Two reading rooms, one reference room, one periodical room, and one newspaper room, open 92 hours a week, facilitate a reading space for 648 readers. A branch library for the College of Sciences with a capacity for 364 readers and 23,000 volumes of books, located on the new campus, was organized in 1975. Departmental libraries with a total space for 557 readers are conveniently located next to their respective departmental offices for easy access.

Under the auspices of the main library, acquisition, cataloging, circulation, and preservations departments are rendering centralized technical service to the entire university library system. Reference service is one of the important areas of services in the system, and the nationwide interlibrary loan program is actively participated in by the university libraries of NTNU.

Besides the standard functions required of a university library, the NTNU libraries are perpetually in pursuit of ways and means for strengthening their collections, updating their resources, perfecting their services, and modernizing their facilities in order to meet the needs for being a training and model library for the library science majors of the Social Education Department, which trains teacher-librarians for schools and public libraries (*Sinorama*, 1983).

The main library has provided the Universal Database Access Service since June 1980. Readers can rapidly and easily get their research information among 70 subjects from the terminal. The new library building now under construction will be completed in June 1983. It is an eight-story building in a crescent shape. This facility will use the open-stack circulation which will provide better service for its readers (NTNU *Catalog, 1983*, p. 14).

Many students are unable to attend the regular day colleges and universities of Taiwan. Financial and family obligations and score levels on the Joint College Entrance Examination are the main reasons that day school is not possible for a number of bright young men and women. To help this minor-

ity with their educational goals, NTNU and other schools in Taiwan have set up evening degree programs at the undergraduate level. All are under the Ministry of Education. Admission to these institutions is predicated on successful passing of the JCEE.

The Evening School of National Taiwan Normal University consists of eleven departments which grant bachelor's degrees to the students upon graduation after five years of successful evening study. The students are then qualified to be secondary school teachers; they do, however, pay their own way. The eleven departments in the Evening School are civic education, education, educational psychology, social education, Chinese, English, fine arts, geography, history, biology, and mathematics, with a total of 2,569 students sectioned into 69 classes (Smith, 1981, p. 79-84).

The Evening School also operates classes of elective courses for in-service primary and secondary school teachers. The students enrolled in these classes are given college credits. In each semester 20 to 30 courses of study are offered as electives to the students. For each successfully completed course a certificate is issued. During the fall semester of 1980 the study of Chinese painting was offered with an enrollement of 43 students.

The nature of the Evening School has been modified from the fall semester of 1981. Under the new regulation, the Evening School only admits in-service primary and secondary teachers as well as administrators for 3- or 4-year retraining programs to enhance their background and upgrade their academic preparation (NTNU *Catalog, 1983*, p. 14).

Taiwan, like all societies, needs people of talent, dedication, and morality in positions of educational leadership. By all measures, NTNU for the past 35 years has been the major training center for these educational leaders and scholars. One can anticipate that this trend will continue and as the huge building programs continue the school's physical plant, particularly the new library, will better serve its constituents.

Incidentally, the most comprehensive and successful language training center in Taiwan is found at NTNU. The Mandarin Center, as it is called, was established in 1957 and today

assists many foreign students in developing both a learning of and sensitivity for Mandarin Chinese. As of the spring of 1982, over 10,000 foreign students had taken intensive language training at this world-famous Center.

According to the mission statement of NTNU its goals for its students are as follows:

1. Providing professional training in various fields of specialization
2. The attainment of health, both physical and mental
3. The cultivation of the Chinese culture
4. The acquisition of an integrated knowledge of the problems of contemporary life and education
5. The development of the best university scholarship with respect to independent thinking, unbiased judgment, intellectual interest in related fields of study, and the habit of impartial inquiry and research (NTNU *Catalog, 1979 and 1983* pp. 9-10).

The record would indicate that these values are indeed being fostered at National Taiwan Normal University.

Found below is the 1981 program offering of NTNU. This chart reflects the comprehensiveness of this most notable teachers university.

DEGREES OFFERED

Major	Bachelor's	Master's	Doctor's	College
Biology	X	X		Sciences
Chemistry	X	X		Sciences
Chinese	X	X	X	Arts
Civic Education	X			Education
Education	X	X	X	Education
Educational Psychology	X			Education
English	X	X		Arts
Fine Arts	X	X		Arts
Geography	X	X		Arts
Guidance		X		Education
Health Education	X	X		Education
History	X	X	X	Arts
Home Economics	X	X		Education
Industrial Arts	X			
Industrial Education	X	X		Education
Mathematics	X	X		Sciences
Music	X	X		Arts
Physics	X	X		Sciences
Physical Education	X	X		Education
Social Education	X			Education
Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Doctrine		X		Education

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教師

Chapter 5

IN-SERVICE: Adscititious, Lifelong Education for Professional Teachers

"In-service education" as used in this book and also in the literature available on education in Taiwan may be defined as follows: All formal learning experiences that make a person a better teacher. Included in this are courses, seminars, lectures, degree programs, in-school workshops, television education, and attending teachers centers and hostels (many of which exist in Taiwan) for recurrent learning activities. Professor King-Mao Tong states that in-service education in Taiwan consists of "activities on the part of employed teachers that contribute to their professional growth and qualification: for example, travel, professional reading, participation in supervisory and curriculum development programmes, attendance at summer session courses, etc." (K.M. Tong, 1971, p. 5).

A collection of hypotheses, all interrelated to the concept of in-service education in Taiwan, follows:

1. In-service education plays a very important role in meeting the need for continuous education of teachers.
2. In-service education is as important as pre-service education in the task of preparation of competent and quality teachers.
3. The specific characteristics of in-service education is 'for the teachers, of the teachers, and by the teachers.'
4. The programme of in-service education can be formulated and carried on in various ways in order to suit the existing situations and to meet the urgent needs for teachers (K.M. Tong, 1971, pp. 5-7.)

In-service education has always played an important part in teacher education. Not only is it seen as a vehicle for promotion and pay raises; it is directly related to the ongoing recurrent educational needs of all professionals. Educators must accept the fact that the knowledge they acquired in their formal education was both multifarious and anfractuous; it has also become outdated as new information is made available through research and scholarship. Therefore it is necessary for the serving teacher to approach recurrent education with enthusiasm. To foster this, a wide variety of learning experiences is made available to regular teachers in the primary and secondary schools. The remainder of this chapter will explore the in-service programs in Taiwan.

In the most general sense there are three distinctive in-service models:

1. Night school and summer programs (degree and non-degree).
2. In-service courses for advanced academic training (degree and non-degree).
3. In-service institute workshops and programs (non-degree).

Many of the five-year junior normal colleges have night school programs for teachers who need their skills upgraded or for those teachers who are graduates of the three-year (former) teacher normal school. Further, Taipei Junior Teachers College offers regular night school programs for qualified teachers currently teaching in public primary schools. Applicants to these programs must be (1) certified teachers who are employed, or (2) graduates of institutions other than the regular five-year normal junior college, e.g., senior high school or senior vocational schools. Certification is earned after the equivalent of three years of full-time study. The summer school program takes four years of study. Upon completion of either of these tracks and passing a qualifying examination, the graduates of three-year night and four-year summer programs are given a diploma in primary education and may enter the teaching force. Because these persons pay their own fees, they are not obligated to go into teaching as a

career, though most (a majority are women) do (K.H. Huang, 1970, pp. 11-14).

The second type of in-service experience is quite academic and, in fact, parallels earning the master's degree. It has become popular over the last decade for the teachers colleges in Taiwan to open their doors for summer school. Colleges and universities over a four-year period offer 40-credit-hour programs in a variety of fields and subjects. Upon completion of these prescribed courses, the teacher receives a certificate that is referred to as a "master's equivalent" in either an academic subject, pedagogy, special education, or educational administration. Though the master's degree still carries with it greater prestige, the 40-credit-hour certificate does give teachers and administrators better opportunities for promotion and a higher salary (*Kuo Report*, 1982, pp. 5-6).

This program also allows secondary teachers from the areas of Taiwan that are not coterminous to a teachers college the opportunity to continue their education in the summer and hence not sacrifice their employment to return to regular day college during the academic year. Further, the proliferation of master's degree students is slowed by this alternative model, and the secondary system therefore does not have a tendency to become top-heavy with teachers holding the MA but who have little chance of rapid upward mobility.

The last type of in-service education that will be discussed is no doubt the most dynamic. Administrators, elementary teachers, and secondary teachers all may take advantage of the "In-Service Teachers Institute Program" that had its inchoation in Taiwan in 1956. The importance of the "Institute" approach to in-service education is so great that teachers are usually given time away from their jobs (with pay) to attend. Sessions last from a few days to a month.

The Institute for Elementary School Teachers In-Service Education, located in Pan Chiao City, a suburb of Taipei County, is the main center for in-service education for elementary teachers and administrators in Taiwan. The Institute was founded in May 1956 as a permanent installation for the improvement of teaching and the development of teaching aids and materials. Under the direction of Professor George Chien-chi Tsui, who holds the title of President, the

Institute for Elementary School Teachers In-Service Education (referred to henceforth as the "Institute") is a major facility with residential halls, dining facilities, a library, and an audiovisual resource development center. The atmosphere is collegiate and one is reminded of a large college campus when at the Institute.

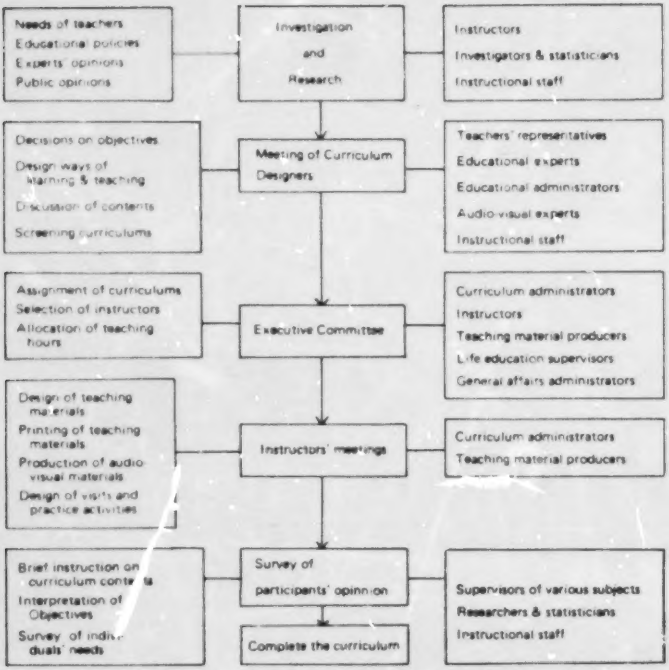
In the years that this writer has spent at various levels of education in America, no center of this type and with the mission of the Institute has been observed.

The functions of the Institute, according to President Tsiu, are:

1. In-service education for elementary school principals, directors, teachers, and supervisors.
2. Curriculum research and development.
3. Teaching materials collection, production, circulation, and supply.
4. School visitation and follow-up supervision.
5. Being at the cutting edge of educational innovation and methodological skills.

To assure the success of the in-service programs that are presented at the Institute, an elaborate design of the curriculum of the workshops, mini-courses, and lengthy seminars has been developed. Its purpose is to make the residential learning experience at the Institute relevant to the needs of the participants. Early in the in-service program experience in Taiwan a decision was made to involve the participants with the process of in-service education. The regular lecture/notes/examination approach used at teachers colleges was found to be unsatisfactory for mature teachers who were returning for lifelong, recurrent, professional education. As a consequence, the curriculum design below has been developed and implemented for most programming.

The chart suggests how far the Institute has moved from the pedantic teaching paradigm found when the traditional methods of "lecture and listen" are exclusively employed. At the workshops all participants become involved. Not only do they associate at meals and during recreation but in the learning setting a synergistic learning/teaching atmosphere is con-



(Taiwan Institute for Teacher In-Service, Taipei, 1981)

stantly engendered. A variety of learning paragons are used at the Institute.

Demonstration methods are employed in a number of the workshops. A course is taught by two instructors who show different means of performing a task. The participants visit each instructor's demonstration and then must put on the experiment based on their observations.

Another approach used at the Institute is the "case study" or "situational model." A description of a problem situation is given and the participants, either in groups or individually, are asked to solve the problem. The solutions given are compared to how, in fact, the issue was resolved. Those at the Institute for training in education administration find this system quite effective (it is based on the Harvard case study approach).

Perhaps the most realistic learning experience found at the Institute is referred to as the "visitation." Each member of the workshop group is assigned to a specific school as an educational consultant. Prior to going to the site, he or she is given a set of standards. It is the job of the participant to inspect the site and determine the viability of the school as related to the standards, then return to the Institute and discuss the findings with the leader (*Chen Report*, 1977).

Because of its long and distinguished reputation, the Institute is able to employ outstanding workshop and group leaders from the finest colleges in Taiwan. Both the Ministry of Education and the Provincial Department of Education are supportive of the Institute and its training methods.

Complementing the rather unique workshops that are offered at the Institute, more traditional seminars are also made available to teachers. Advanced courses (non-credit at the present time) in politics, philosophy, mathematics, audiovisual materials, *ad infinitum*, are all held periodically at the Institute. Also practical topics on new standardized and nationally used text books, the teaching of the "new math," working with gifted children, and making exams and texts have in recent years been made available to many thousands of teachers who wish (and are encouraged) to continue their nonformal in-service education.

Taiwan requires that all persons who wish to become principals or directors of the elementary schools must go through an intensive training program under the auspices of the Institute. Over five thousand men and women have been trained at the center in the art of administration, finance, school law, facilities, and leadership. Dr. Mei-Sheng Chen states that "those who have gone through the training before they assume their posts are more confident and more active in conducting school affairs because they were selected and trained specifically in the current school regulations" (*Chen Report*, 1977).

The last of the Institute programs that will be mentioned is the training of educational advisors for both Taipei City and Taiwan Province. A large group of outstanding teachers from all areas of the island are brought to the Institute where they are trained in education investigation and appraisal. Upon

completion of the program at the Institute, the teachers are sent back to their school districts to work as consultants to various schools that are having difficulties. This allows the government to save a great deal of money because it precludes the need to hire paid consultants and university professors to go to the schools to do on-site, field-based research and also to put on workshops on a variety of topics, e.g., microcomputers. The most successful venture of this type was in bringing the new math to the teachers of Taiwan, particularly those in the countryside and on the off-coast islands.

Besides the workshops and courses that have been mentioned, the Institute has the responsibility of developing sophisticated films, slides, and audio materials. Workbooks and textbooks are also produced at the Institute, which has its own press and electronics center. The success of the Institute at Pan-Chiao has encouraged the Provincial Department of Education to expand the Institute for In-Service Training concept to other parts of the island. Eventually it is hoped that all teachers of primary schools will have within easy access an Institute that is local enough for them to attend without incurring too great a financial cost to their school system.

The motto of the Institute for Teachers In-Service Education is "National Prosperity Through Good Teachers." This motto reflects accurately the enthusiasm that those in education on island Taiwan feel toward the concept of in-service education and the Institute at Pan-Chiao.

教師

Chapter 6

CRITIQUE: Challenges for the Future

Teacher education, because of its importance, complexity, and historical evolution, plays a major part in the educational system of Taiwan. For this reason scholars, both within the system and on the outside of academe, have expressed views on how pre-service education can be improved, the current problems it faces, and paradigms for revamping the current arrangement.

This writer believes that it is of vital importance to any organization that critics be encouraged to express their legitimate concerns. This writer also believes that when a foreign researcher visits another society it is important to temper critical analysis with sensitivity. Consequently, the following criticisms of Taiwan pre-service teacher education are derived from the literature on the subject written by distinguished Chinese educators who, from firsthand knowledge, years of experience, and a deep and sincere concern, believe that their ideas and wisdom can improve the structure of teacher training in their society. Personal biases and values have not been dominant in critiquing the education of Taiwan pedagogues; as an American, educated in schools in the United States, a proper understanding of the nuances and intricacies of Chinese education in Taiwan is quite impossible for this writer to develop. Further, cross-cultural studies on education should not have as their focus flaunting weakness; they should attempt to be honest and, when possible, empirical. The prejudices that a foreigner brings with him cannot be avoided; they can be mitigated, however, by using the best scholarship of the indigenous academicians to gain insights into problems that face the issue under investigation.

The theme of this final chapter will therefore be the synchronic issues facing modern Taiwan's teacher pre-service education progrms as *perceived and written about by Chinese scholars and intellectuals*.

Dr. Wei Fan Kuo, President of National Taiwan Normal University, identifies a number of "current issues and future efforts" that must be addressed if Taiwan teacher education is to continue to be enhanced. The first issue that Dr. Kuo addresses is the upgrading of the nine five-year junior normal colleges. Youngsters who graduate from the ninth grade and pass a very competitive examination may be admitted to one of the nine junior normal colleges distributed throughout Taiwan. The problem is that few young men and women at age 15 or 16 have a clear idea of what career they truly wish to pursue. But those who have chosen to enter the junior normal college at that age are, in fact, in an education track that is virtually impossible to leave. Transferring to the academic or vocational high schools or to the colleges and universities is a near impossibility. As persons mature, their interests and career aspirations may change; yet the current program does not allow this.

A concurrent issue is that the prestige most elementary school teachers experience is below that of either college professors or secondary teachers. Evidence suggests that when possible elementary teachers will try to move into junior high school teaching positions. The opposite is seldom the case. However, a major reorganization of the five-year junior normal college system presents numerous problems. If the colleges were made into four-year baccalaureate schools, they would be at a competitive disadvantage to the now existing universities. Also, to enter the four-year college, students would first have to complete the academic high school. One of the reasons for the success of the current system is that it encourages youngsters with lambent intellects but limited funds to seek admission. The Joint College Entrance Examination would have to be used for admission to these new schools, and this test in no way can judge the potential of a person as a teacher. As Dr. Kuo suggests, "The quality of the students would be downgraded although the institution is upgraded."

Over the years there has developed a severe shortage of teachers in certain fields of expertise. Mathematics, computer studies, and the natural sciences are fields in which there is a paucity of candidates. A solution being explored is to allow the graduates of the regular liberal arts and science colleges to take a one- or two-year postgraduate program at an established teachers college and be conditionally certified. Though this would help solve the immediate dilemma, it might encourage students to avoid teacher education initially and enter the profession only if the free marketplace became hostile to them. The view of a commitment to pedagogy would not be engendered in the students, it is felt.

Another issue that Taiwan educators are trying to address is the disproportionate number of women in the field of pedagogy. The ratio of women in education is growing relative to the number of men. Educators suggest that this may have a deleterious impact on the sociology of the educative process and that a balance of the sex ratio is desirable. To set up quotas on men/women admission denies equal opportunity based on fair and open competition — the forte of Chinese education for three millennia.

Though the concept of in-service education is part of the Taiwan tradition, it has also led to some problems. Upon completion of a fixed number of college-level specialization courses, a teacher of a primary school may seek employment in a junior high school. Too often good and highly motivated teachers leave the ranks of the primary setting to become part of the secondary system.

It is also pointed out by Dr. Kuo that many teachers take in-service education at the same time they teach. These teachers are usually ambitious and well motivated; they must, however, devote needed time to their in-service education at the expense of their regular teaching assignments. Yet to slow down the academic achievement of these teachers would also be wrong. One suggestion is that in-service education be taken not at the same time a person is teaching but rather in the summer or during periods of official release time. Upon completion of the in-service experience, it is recommended that the teacher be required to remain in his current position for a fixed period (*Kuo Report*, 1982).

Dr Ching-Jiang Lin, in an interview with this writer, pointed to another problem that faces teachers in Taiwan. Empirical research done by Dr. Lin, President of National Kaohsiung Teachers College, suggests that a degree of "status anxiety" exists in the teaching profession and at teachers colleges. This is the result of (1) the high place teachers are held in Chinese society; (2) the relatively low salaries they earn relative to their esteemed position (and to other occupations); (3) the view teachers hold of themselves as not being of the position that society at large sees them. This combination of contradictions seems to create in the pre-service student and the established teacher anxieties related to the uncertainty of their status in modern Taiwan. A prolific writer, Dr. Lin has dealt with this and other sociological issues in great detail. His scholarship is in the Chinese language; for that reason this writer has not been able to explore it more fully.

A sociological issue that has the potential for being a problem (and yet currently is not) is the fact that teachers generally come from lower middle-class backgrounds. A disproportionate number are from farm families and are of Taiwanese language background. An orientation to authority, order, and discipline tends to be fostered in this type of family configuration. Yet Taiwan is changing rapidly and becoming a very modern, growing, industrial society. Dr. Hsin-Huang Hsiao, a sociologist at the Academia Sinica, the leading research center in Taiwan, indicates that certain tensions are possible in this type of situation. To reiterate, there seems to be no problem related to this currently; yet it is an issue related to teacher education that needs further academic exploration and scholarship.

Professor Chi, Li-ha makes the case that teacher certification inconsistency has led to the proliferation of less than qualified educators in some instances. Dr. Chi states that this situation has created social disruption in the secondary schools of Taiwan, some of which have experienced violence and vandalism. He calls for a total redesign of teacher education with tighter government control on one hand and at the same time a greater variety of ways for a person to become a certified school teacher (*Chi Report*, 1977).

The Joint College Entrance Examination, which has been discussed in some detail, presents certain problems for the pre-service teacher training system. Taken after 12th grade, this very difficult competitive test (in 1981 only 27 percent of 100,000 candidates passed) is used to channel students into the three four-year B.A. normal/teachers institutions in Taiwan. Candidates do not necessarily select the school to which they will be admitted; their score on the JCEE is the critical variable in their placement at an institution and in a specific field of study. The nation's manpower needs are factored into this equation. As a consequence young people may end up, based on their score on the JCEE, at a teachers college; yet their true academic interest could be quite apart from teaching. Competition for admission to higher education programs is so strong that seldom will a young person not accept as a *fait accompli* the placement. One can question how effective a method this is in the selection of future secondary school teachers. Generally it works well. Leaders in Taiwan's education system are currently reviewing other schema for the selection and admission of men and women into the baccalaureate teachers colleges in Taiwan.

The last and possibly most pervasive issue that continues to confront pre-service education is related to pedagogical philosophy. Are teachers born or can they be trained? Can tests be used to determine who has the potential to be an effective teacher? Is the best education for an educator in a specialized area of expertise, such as mathematics or Chinese literature, or is it in the science of education with focus on courses in methodology, curriculum, and pedagogy?

These issues plus others are confronting the leaders of Taiwan's educational establishment. How each will be resolved and what changes will be made in the future are uncertainties that will not be dealt with here. Numerous ideas for an improved education program were suggested to this writer when he was on his various trips to the Orient. The overriding concern with change in the current system remains the same: Will the populace of Taiwan, who see education as the most trusted of all institutions and see the school system as the vehicle for social success and economic security

(the term used to define this is "academeocracy"), be amenable to alterations, changes, or restructuring of this most sacrosanct and sanguine of all Chinese institutions?

教師

Chapter 7

AFTERWORD

> For the moment, maybe, the Western impact has driven Confucius from his millennial throne; yet even if he has been officially deposed, the unconquerable sage is still contriving to govern where he no longer reigns . . .
>
> — Arnold Toynbee

This study by its very nature is eclectic. It is the product of many resources and is largely a synthesis of interviews, published materials, field-based observations, lectures, and other research sources.

Each civilization has a unique heritage, and to write about the educative process of a society without relating it to the other intrinsic factors of the cultural milieu creates a sense of fragmentation and disparity in historical development. The education system of a society is synergistic to the composition of the totality of the other facets of the culture, its institutions, and historical evolution. It has, therefore, been a constant concern in this study to relate education in Taiwan to Chinese civilization and Taiwan's unique history. The quality of Chinese teacher education in contemporary Taiwan can be evaluated by each reader from the preceding chapters. Judgments on the teacher education system of Taiwan relative to other nations have not been attempted in this book.

The essential question that should be addressed upon completion of reading this study is: Does the educative process for the preparation of teachers in Taiwan assist in bringing about the greatest level of educational opportunity to the younger and older students of Taiwan?

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APPENDIX

"The Abolition of the Competitive Examination in China" by John C. Ferguson, Ph.D., Shanghai, China, 1906, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 27, Edited by E. Washburn Hopkins and Charles C. Tang (Yale University, 1906).

Reproduction
of original article
of 1906

Memorial.

A Joint Memorial by the Tartar General of Moukden, Chao Er Hsuan, the Viceroy of Chihli, Yuan Shih Kai, the acting Viceroy of Liang Kiang, Chow Fu, the Viceroy of Hu Kwang, Chang Chih Tung, the acting Viceroy of Liang Kwan, Tsen Chun-hsien, the Governor of Hunah, Tuan Fang, respectfully presented for Imperial consideration, in which the urgent need of national preservation, due to the strenuous difficulties of the times, is pointed out and the proposal to abolish the system of examinations and to promote the establishment of schools is made, together with careful and safe plans for the carrying out of the scheme.

The defects of the system of examinations have been spoken of in detail by men of ancient and recent times, and your memorialists Shih Kai and Chih Tung have also presented several memorials for Imperial consideration in which it was shown that this system was a hindrance to the establishment of schools. The arguments used in these Memorials need not be repeated.

Recently an Imperial Edict has been issued for the gradual abolition of the system of examinations extending over a period of three triennial examinations, so that after ten years all promotions should be made from schools. This deep and far-reaching plan for the promotion of schools has been published to the people of the Empire as the basis of reform and the need of the times. In meditating upon the general conditions and considering carefully the trend of the times, your memoralists have become aware that the urgency of present circumstances is greater than ever before and that in the united exercise of our utmost strength an hour is worth thousands of gold. As long as the system of examinations is not abolished, students will trust to their good fortune for obtaining the highest degrees, and their desire for the difficult work of real betterment will be diverted. The people will follow their example, and the hope for the establishment of private schools will be very small. The resources of the Government not being adequate, it is certain that there will be no general movement for the opening of schools. If at the present time the system of examinations were abolished and schools were universally established, it would require more than ten years before men of talent could be produced; but if there is a further delay of ten years while the system is being gradually abolished and schools are slowly being opened, it will be more than twenty years before there will be men of talent available for use, since the process of education is one that cannot be hurried. Our strong neighbors are pressing in upon us and can we delay? During recent years all countries have been hoping that we should reform and have been urging us to change our system. They have all had misgivings that we are bound up to old systems, and have ridiculed us as being like a rat looking in both directions, undecided which one to take. While there is this general disbelief and no change has been made in the spirit of contempt, in the twinkling of an eye peace will be restored between Japan and Russia and the affairs of China will be in a still more dangerous condition. Then there will be a rude awakening, which will scatter general disbelief and destroy accumulated contempt. Such a system of examinations has long been considered a source of reproach by foreigners, but schools are considered to be the chief factor in a reformed government. As soon as conservative methods

are boldly and rigorously abandoned and new methods adopted, those who see and hear what is being done will all use their best endeavors to treat with us on a basis of mutual respect, and the students from China who are pursuing their studies in foreign countries will also receive encouragement. Emphasizing the importance of schools will obviate the possibility of being carried away by gross superstition and idle rumors. The value of men of intelligence equipped with useful knowledge cannot be over-estimated. The establishment of schools is not solely for the training of learned men but for the general dissemination of knowledge among the people, so that all may receive the advantages and acquired powers of an elementary education. This will result in patriotic loyalty to the country and in increased ability to earn a livelihood. Those who show that they have higher abilities can be employed as officials, and those of less attainments will not fail to be useful members of the community. Soldiers, farmers, artisans, and merchants will all follow their respective business with intelligent zeal. Women and children will not be left in idleness, but schools will be established in the homes of the people. No place will be without a school and no person without an education. If this method be followed, why should our country not become wealthy and strong? Those who have carefully studied the situation know that the secret of Prussia's victory over France and of Japan's over Russia lay in their primary schools; in fact, the root of prosperity and strength is in the establishment of schools, and in this respect it is now only China that lags in the rear. If the examination system is not abolished and the schools are not established, how can general intelligence grow among students and people? Hence, if it is desired to avert threatening dangers, the commencement must be made in the establishment of schools, and in order to establish schools the examination system must be first abolished. This is the reason that prompts your memorialists to suggest the abolition of the examination system, so that learning may be diffused, literary ability encouraged, the people civilized, good customs established, the country pacified in her internal relations and respected by her powerful neighbors

Although the examination system may be abolished, there are several important matters to be attended to, and the first of

these in importance is that due regard should be paid to classical learning. There are those who fear that when these examinations are abolished classical learning will be neglected. Under the old system it was necessary to be able to recite and explain the Classics in order to write on the subjects assigned for essays, but apart from the Four Books and Five Classics other classical studies were not pursued. Even all of the Five Classics were not studied and those which were studied were often not understood. How could such a system tend to the encouragement of classical learning? In the present system of education, which has received Imperial sanction, the study of the Classics is emphasized. There will be no lessening of the study or explanation of the Classics either in the primary or secondary schools, the purpose being that pupils who have finished the courses of these schools shall have studied Ten Classics so as to understand them. In the colleges there will be a special department for classical study in which history, literature, and philosophy will be studied. It will thus be seen that all of the ancient learning will be included in the curricula of the schools and none of it will be lost. It might even be said that the schools will make this learning of greater importance. Our only concern is that those who manage schools may pay more attention to the new than to the old learning in disobedience of the regulations. This would result in the production of men who had no moral standards, and would therefore be useless to their country. For this reason we beg that your Majesties will command the viceroys and governors of the various provinces to instruct those in charge of schools to give strict attention to classical learning and to the literature and history of their country. In this way such learning will daily increase in importance and will run no risk of being neglected.

A second important matter which needs attention is that emphasis should be placed upon personal character. Under the old system students were only examined as to the quality of their literary attainments, but no attention was paid to their character, with the result that there was often a feeling of shame as to the attainments of students in this respect. In the present regulations for schools, however, it is provided that in addition to their examination in literary subjects, they shall also be given marks for conduct. These marks will be given

to students for six things, viz: good conversation, careful personal appearance, attention to etiquette, diligence, intercourse with friends, and conduct on the street. When students are examined in their studies an average will be made between these marks and those for daily conduct. This matter should also form the subject of a special edict to viceroys and governors of the various provinces.

A third important matter is the immediate establishment of normal schools. The greatest cause of concern is not that there are no schools or no funds to establish them, but that there are no teachers. A special edict should also be issued commanding the provinces to send pupils who have finished their secondary studies to foreign countries to take courses in normal studies, some longer and some shorter. The selection of men who have already taken their first and second degrees would be still more advisable. If normal schools are established in all the provinces, teachers will be trained and the first step taken toward the advancement of schools.

A fourth important subject is that only students who have finished their courses of study shall be drafted into service. The courses of various schools differ in length, but if students are taken from the schools before their courses have been completed great injury will be done. It is much better that there should be a delay in securing men than that their studies should be interrupted. In the meantime, in addition to employing such men as have finished their studies, a temporary measure should be adopted by which special degrees of Kü-jen (second degree) and Tsing-shih (third degree) should be bestowed upon those who complete shorter normal courses. Such men will thus be encouraged to devote themselves to the establishment of schools. In foreign countries there are no short courses in primary or secondary schools but only in normal schools. This is an excellent plan. After five years there will be many students who have completed their courses of study and are ready for service, all of whom will be versed in Chinese literature and can be trusted. Thus using scholars of the old schools for a foundation, there will be no need of waiting for five years before we have available men, and these schools can retain their pupils until they have finished their courses of study.

Another important matter is that a way of preferment should be left open for scholars of the old school. To this end during

the next nine years students who have already taken their degrees and who also show proficiency in any one of the following subjects, viz: Arithmetic, geography, science of government, political economy, military science, politics, railroads, mining, police work, or western governmental science, may be sent from the various provinces to Peking for examination. If they can pass successfully they will be rewarded with appointments to one of the boards or as magistrates in the provinces. Special degrees may also be granted to such as are not sent to Peking. In this way the country will make the greatest possible use of its scholars both of the old and new schools.

The above five suggestions are all practicable, and we respectfully beseech Your Majesties to command the viceroys, governors, and literary chancellors of the various provinces to put them into immediate execution. Those places in which schools have not been established should commence at once to open schools and in places where some schools have already been opened others should be started. Those in charge of schools should do their utmost to make their schools successful and the provincial authorities should show no laxity in promoting and encouraging the establishment of schools. Everything in these schools should be done according to the rules and regulations which have already received Imperial sanction.

Respectfully submitted for Imperial consideration.

Imperial Rescript.

September 2, 1905.

We have received a Memorial from Yuan Shih Kai, Viceroy of Chihli Province, and other high officials advocating the summary abolition of the old style of literary examinations for the Ku-jen (Master of Arts) degree, in order to allow the expansion of the modern modes of education. In this connection the said Viceroy has also handed up his scheme for the successful accomplishment of the new régime. Before the era of what is termed the Three Dynasties, men for office were selected from the schools, and it must be confessed that the plan produced many talented men. It was indeed a most successful plan for the production of men of talents and for the moulding of character. Indeed the examples before us of the wealth and power of Japan and the countries of the West have their

foundation in their schools. Just now we are passing through a crisis fraught with difficulties and the country is most urgently in want of men of talents and abilities (of the modern sort). Owing to the fact that, of late, modern methods of education have been daily on the increase amongst us, we repeatedly issued our commands to all our viceroys and governors of provinces to lose no time in establishing modern schools of learning in such number that every member of this empire may have the means of going there to study and learn something substantial, in order to prepare himself to be of use to his country. We have indeed thought deeply on this subject.

On a former occasion the Ministers of Education memorialised us, suggesting that the old style of literary examinations should be gradually abolished by extending by three times the period for them. Viceroy Yuan Shih Kai in his present Memorial, however, asserts that unless these old-style examinations be abolished once for all, the people of this Empire will continue to show apathy and hesitate to join the modern schools of learning. Hence if we desire to see the spread of modern education by the establishment of a number of schools, we must first abolish the old style of studying for the examinations. The said memorialist's arguments on the subject show the result of experience and knowledge, and we, therefore, hereby command that, beginning from the Ping-Wu Cycle (1906), all competitive examinations for the literary degree of Kü-jen and Tsing-shih (Master of Arts and Doctor) after the old style shall be henceforth abolished, while the annual competitions in the cities of the various provinces for the Hsiutsai (Bachelor of Arts) or licentiate degree are also to be abolished at once. Those possessors of literary grade of the old style Kü-jen and Hsiuts-ai who obtained their degrees prior to the issuance of this decree shall be given opportunities to take up official rank according to their respective grades and abilities. We also approve of the other suggestions made by the said Viceroy in his Memorial on the above subject and command that they shall be put into force as proposed. In a word, the methods and aims of our modern schools of learning have the same force as the ancient form of selection of men for office from the schools, as mentioned above, and the methods of rewards in rank and degrees are the same as those hitherto obtained by the old style of

literary competitions. The regulations and rules for the various modern schools of learning and their various branches of studies have for their aims the attainment of substantial and practical knowledge. We are certain that the official classes and gentry throughout the Empire, on learning of this will enthusiastically set about to start as many schools as possible, and thus give the blessings of modern education to every subject of the Throne. The Government being thus enabled to obtain men of talents and abilities, it follows that the cities and towns producing such bright lights of learning will also enjoy a reflected honor therefrom. We hereby further command our Ministers of Education on receiving this our Imperial Decree, to lose no time in distributing at once to the various provinces the text-books for schools that have been prepared, so that we may have a uniform system of teaching in all our schools. We also command our viceroys and governors to insist that their subordinates, the prefects, sub-prefects, and district magistrates, shall make haste to establish primary schools in all the towns, hamlets, and villages within their respective jurisdictions, and that the utmost care be taken to select intelligent teachers for them, so that the minds of all our subjects be open for the reception of modern knowledge. Let all our officials be earnest and diligent in obeying these our commands and let there be no lagging and carelessness, so as to avoid faults and mistakes in the administration of these schools. Let no one fail in deserving the confidence we have placed in each.

The above was followed on September 11th by another Imperial Edict which ordered that the provincial literary chancellors who formerly conducted the competitive examinations should spend their time in promoting schools, and that they should be responsible to the Department of Education, and not as formerly, to the Board of Rites.

It would be easy to show how much more carefully thought out are the above memorial and imperial edict than the hasty ones prepared by Kang Yu Wei in June, 1898. It was nothing short of a revolution in 1898, which would have shaken the stability of the empire to its foundation. In 1905, it was the cul-

mination of a process in which public opinion had begun to catch up with existing facts. One is forced to the conclusion that the delay of seven years in the abolition of the system has been for the good of China.

One curious fact about the abolition of the examination system is that a vast literature which had grown up around the standard essay (the eight-legged essay) is rendered valueless, and hundred of bookstores have been left with large stocks of books which can never be sold. It must be said that this literature was *per se* of no value, and that the philosophy, history, politics, and religion of China lose nothing by its vanishing.

ORGANIZATION OF MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

MINISTER
Administrative Vice Minister
Political Vice Minister
Administrative Vice Minister
Internal Units
Secretariat
Counsellors Office
Inspectors Office
Department of Higher Education
Department of Technological & Vocational Education
Department of Secondary Education
Department of Elementary Education
Department of Social Education
Department of Physical Education
Department of General Affairs
Bureau of International Cultural & Educational Relations
Bureau of Students' Military Training
Bureau of Accounting
Bureau of Statistics
Bureau of Personnel
Committees
National Academic Council
Educational Research Council
Committee on School Discipline & Moral Education
Science Education Council
Committee on Medical Education
Advisory Committee on Cultural Relations in America
Committee on Overseas Chinese Education
Committee on the Compilation & Publication of Textbooks
Committee for Reorientation of Displaced Youths
Screening Committee on Appeals
Committee on Laws & Statutes
Committee for Teaching on the Air
Affiliated Agencies
National Institute of Compilation & Translation
National Central Library
National Educational Materials Center
National Historical Museum
National Chinese Medicine Research Institute
National Taiwan Science Hall
National Taiwan Art Hall
Affiliated Schools
National Taiwan University
National Chengchi University
National Tsinghua University
National Taiwan Normal University
National Chengkung University
National Chunghsing University
National Central University College of Science
National Chiaotung University College of Engineering
National Taiwan College of Technology
National Yang Ming Medical College
National Taiwan Academy of Arts
National Preparatory Classes for Overseas Chinese Students Entering Colleges
National Experimental High School for Overseas Chinese
Affiliated High School of National Taiwan Normal University
National Fu Hsing Open School
Overseas Cultural Units
Cultural Counselor's Office of Chinese Embassy U S A
Cultural Counselor's Office of Chinese Embassy Korea
Affiliated Group
National Chinese Boycotts Association

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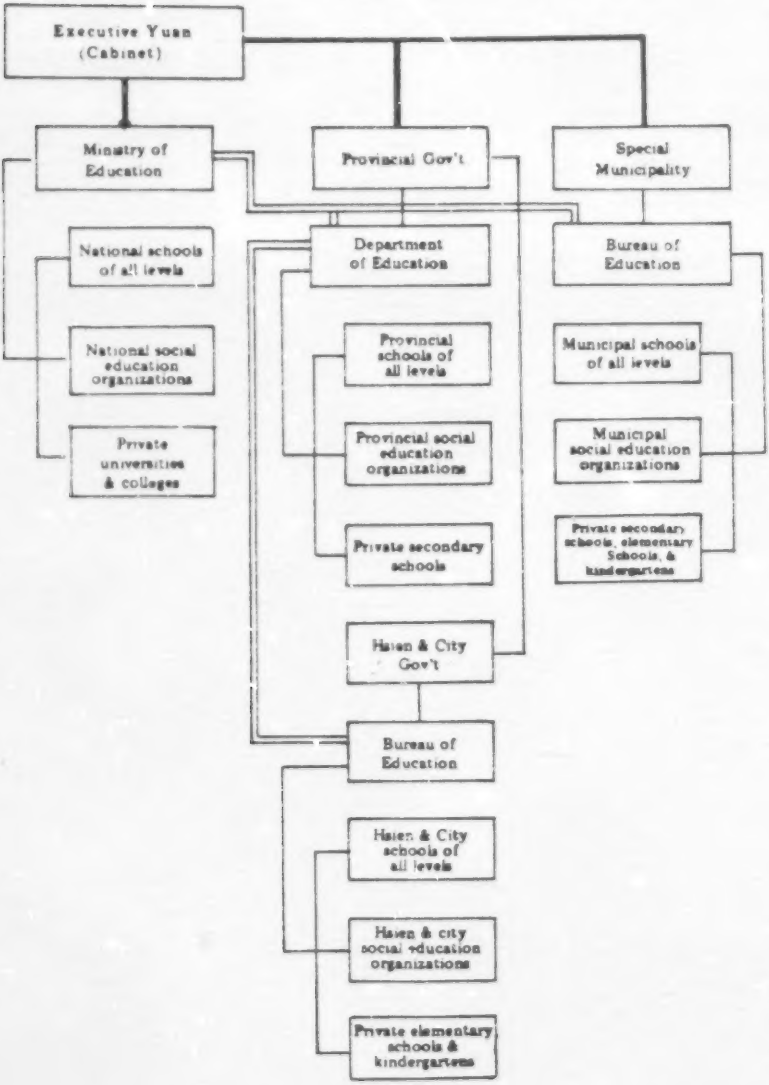
SYSTEM OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION


Executive Yuan (Cabinet)
Ministry of Education
Provincial Gov't
Special Municipality
National schools of all levels
National social education organizations
Private universities & colleges
Department of Education
Provincial schools of all levels
Provincial social education organizations
Private secondary schools
Hsien & City Gov't
Bureau of Education
Hsien & City schools of all levels
Hsien & city social education organizations
Private elementary schools & kindergartens
Bureau of Education
Municipal schools of all levels
Municipal social education organizations
Private secondary schools, elementary Schools, & kindergartens

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THE CURRENT SCHOOL SYSTEM

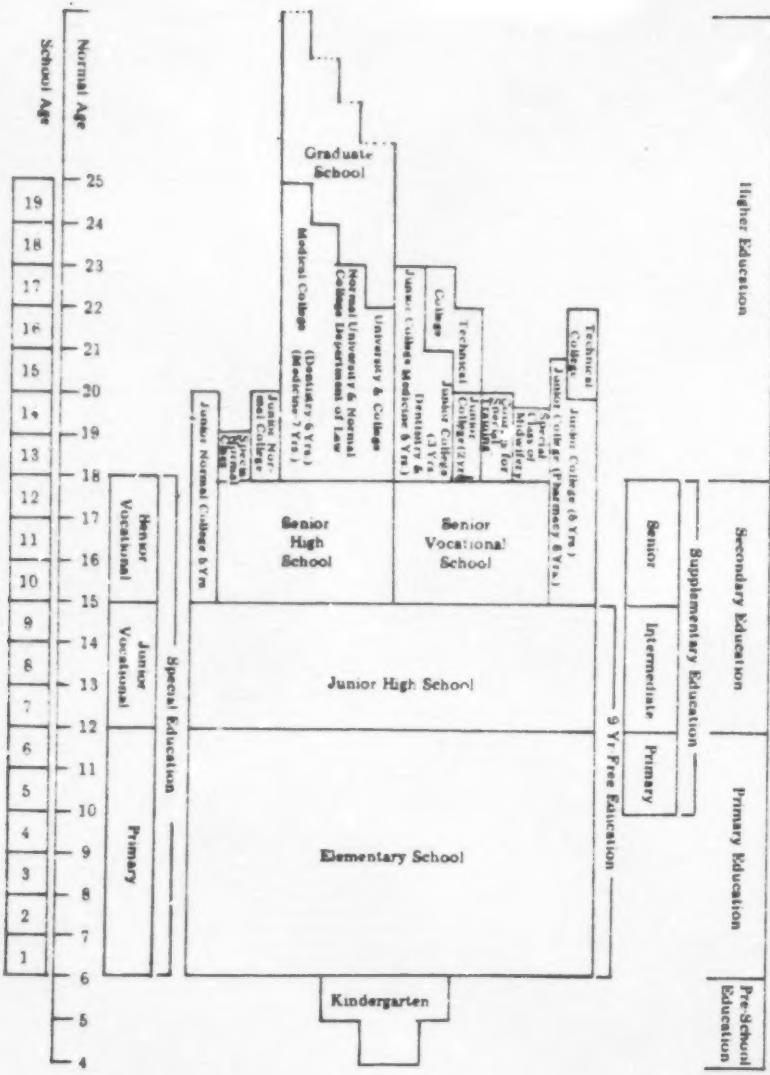

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Photo Courtesy of Michael Abshire

About the Author

This book, written by Douglas C. Smith, an historian by training, an academeologist by persuasion, and a frequent visitor to the Orient, is published by the Pacific Cultural Foundation of Taipei. Dr. Smith is coordinator and administrative head of the West Virginia University Graduate Center and holds graduate teaching appointments in history, political science, and education. He is the author of *An Island of Learning: Academeocracy in Taiwan* (1981) and *The Confucius-Dewey Synthesis* (1978) and has written numerous articles on education, history, and politics.

Mr. Smith is married to the former I-Jwun Yen who is Chinese and from Taiwan. The Smiths have one child, Cathay Yvette-Nikka, and currently live in the northern Shenandoah Valley.

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. . . . .

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